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MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH, by the Author of the FEMALE QUIXOTE.

To which is added, the Tryal of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY the GREAT.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON,

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.

MDCCLVII.

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To the High, Puiſſant, and Moſt Noble PRINCE

THOMAS HOLLES-PELHAM,

Duke of NEWCASTLE, Marquis and Earl of CLARE,

Viſcount HAUGHTON, and Baron PELHAM of Laughton,

AND BARONET,

One of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos Rotulorum for the Counties of Middleſex, Weſtminſter, and Nottingham; Steward, Keeper, and Guardian of the Foreſt of Sherwood, and Park of Folewood, in the County of Nottingham; One of the Governors of the Charter-Houſe, Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of His Majeſty's Treaſury, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, LL. D. and F. R. S.

MY LORD,

AUTHORS are often unfortunate in the choice of their Patrons: and Works are devoted with great ſolemnity, to the uſe of thoſe who cannot uſe them, and the pleaſure of thoſe whom they cannot pleaſe.

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That I have avoided this impropriety, in dedicating to your GRACE theſe MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF SULLY, a whole Nation, whoſe affairs you have ſo long and ſo happily directed, will bear me witneſs: But then, I can claim no praiſe from my own diſcernment; becauſe I only echo the Voice of the People, and addreſs myſelf, where that leads me.

Though my ſex and manner of life make me a ſtranger to public affairs; I yet diſcover of myſelf, that the Hiſtory I have tranſlated, is not only intereſting but important: and that the original author of it was not only well verſed in all the prime operations of government, but that he ſaved a Nation, by bringing method and order into every branch of her revenues, and adminiſtring the whole with the moſt accurate economy.

A Book, thus filled with political wiſdom, could be fitly offered only to him, who lays out his whole time and attention, in labours of the ſame tendency; and for the ſervice of a more free, and therefore a nobler People.

That Providence may co-operate with your endeavours; and that your Grace may

ſteer

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ſteer not only ſafely, but triumphantly, through every difficulty of the preſent conjuncture, are wiſhes ſo natural to all true Britons, that they cannot be thought improper even from a woman, and in this public manner. She is, with the profoundeſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your GRACE's moſt Obedient,

London,
Sept. 5, 1755.

and moſt Humble Servant,

CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

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THE

PREFACE

TO THE

FRENCH EDITION.

AS in the judgment of good critics and lovers of literature, THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY have been always ranked amongſt our beſt books, I have no need to enter here into a diſquiſition which will be of little uſe to thoſe who are acquainted with the work.

To give thoſe an idea of this performance who have never read it, it will be ſufficient to tell them, that it contains a hiſtory of whatever has paſſed from the peace in 1570, to the firſt year of Lewis XIII. during a ſpace of forty years, which is a time that has ſupplied the moſt copious ſubjects to the hiſtorians of France; and that it treats of the reign, or, to ſpeak more properly, almoſt of the whole life, of Henry the Great. They preſuppoſe, indeed, ſome knowledge of the foregoing commotions, which are only occaſionally mentioned; but it diſplays all the ſucceeding events with the utmoſt particularity. The events are equally numerous and diverſified; wars, foreign and civil; intereſts of ſtate and religion; maſter-ſtrokes of policy; unexpected diſcoveries; ſtruggles of ambition; ſtratagems of policy; embaſſies and negoti-

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ations; are all to be found in this book; and all this is far from the whole.

The Memoirs of Sully take their value, perhaps their greateſt value, from the innumerable recitals of a private kind, which ſcarcely belong to the province of hiſtory; this is the particular advantage of memoirs, they admit all ſubjects, however numerous, and all incidents however various, which one can deſire to inſert; and they are not ſubject to the burthen impoſed upon hiſtory, of continuing the narrative through dry generalities, with which even the writer finds himſelf diſguſted.

To obtain a complete knowledge of any prince, it is neceſſary that the picture of his private life be ſet to view, together with his public conduct; he muſt be ſhown with his courtiers and domeſtics, in thoſe moments when he is little obſerved: his character muſt be fixed by his letters and converſation; the paſſions are better diſplayed by a ſingle word, related as it was ſpoke, than by all the art which a hiſtorian can uſe. This idea of memoirs is quite anſwered by thoſe of Sully; ſo that no man, till he has peruſed them, can have a juſt conception of Henry IV. They repreſent to us that great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune; now as a private man, now as a king, as a warrior, or as a politician; and to come ſtill lower, as a huſband, father, or friend; and all told in ſo affecting a manner, that the reader cannot refrain from taking part in the moſt minute and indifferent incident of his life: at moſt, I can only

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only except ſome military recitals, which occur perhaps too often at the beginning of the work, and a ſmall number of other paſſages leſs pleaſing; though, on the other hand, theſe recitals are always connected with the public affairs, and diverſified, like the reſt, with the part which was born in them by the duke of Sully.

He is as the ſecond actor, and this double action makes no breach in the unity of intereſt, becauſe this miniſter ſays almoſt nothing of himſelf, which has not ſome relation to public affairs, or the perſon of his maſter. The reader will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to know what judgment was formed of theſe Memoirs when they firſt appeared in the world, and I ſhall give him information from the author of an old diſcourſe, to be found among the MSS. * of the king's library: "One of the moſt "beautiful pictures of human prudence and "fidelity, ſays he, is to be found in the ac-"count left to the public, in two volumes, "by the duke of Sully, of the nature of the "advice he had given, and the ſervices he "had done, to his king and benefactor, as "well for his particular and perſonal honour, "as for the proſperity of his kingdom. And, "in truth, the fortune of Henry the Great, "and the virtue of his prime miniſter, are "two things which appear alternately, or, "more properly, go hand in hand. The mi-"niſter, in this work, ſerves and obliges the "king, in all the ways that a king can receive

* Vol. 9590.

"ſervice

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" ſervice or obligation from a ſubject, with " his hand, his courage, his ſword, and even " with his blood, or actions of bravery and " adventure, but particularly in his council " and cabinet, with the greateſt underſtand- " ing, and moſt quick-ſighted policy, the " moſt pure diſintereſtedneſs, and untainted " ſincerity, that has ever been known to hiſ- " torians, either of our own or other coun- " tries."

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like Henry IV. to look for great generals, deep politicians, and ſkilful miniſters; but we are ſurprized to find in one man, the warrior, the politician, the wiſe manager of buſineſs, the ſteady and unbending friend, as well as the cloſe confidant and darling of his maſter. But what is yet more uncommon, is to ſee in a work where the actions of two ſuch extraordinary perſons are collected after their deaths, a great king forced to make a conqueſt of his own kingdom, engaged with a miniſter, in his way, not leſs great, in contriving means to make his undertakings ſucceſsful; labouring afterwards, in concert with him, to make his kingdom not only peaceable but flouriſhing, regulating the revenue, laying the foundation of trade, methodizing the government; and, in ſhort, recovering every part of the eſtabliſhment from confuſion.

In this work therefore are comprized two lives united together, and illuſtrating and adorning one another, the lives of a king and a miniſter, his confidant nearly of the ſame age, carried on from the infancy of both to the death

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death of the king, and to the retreat of the miniſter.

We may add that theſe Memoirs of Sully are yet further valuable, by maxims of excellent morality, by politics derived from truth; by an infinite number of views, ſchemes, and regulations, of almoſt every kind, with which they are filled. The duke of Sully is ſaid, by one of his cotemporaries, to have been the only man that ever diſcovered the means of uniting two things, which our fathers not only could not join together, but conſidered in their own nature inconſiſtent, the increaſe of the king's revenue, and the relief of the people. He that would have an idea of a good ſubject and an incorruptible miniſter, muſt look for it in this picture, where he will ſee œconomy in its full luſtre, and policy in all its practice; the art of uſing and of gaining power; the ſcience of reigning as a man, and of reigning as a king; the fineſt inſtructions and moſt forceable examples of morality are here exhauſted, and the whole ſupported and adorned by a knowledge of every thing, from the higheſt arts to the mechanic occupations.

However high this praiſe may ſeem, I do not find that the ſevereſt critics depart much from it; one need only conſult the abbot Le-Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, vol. II. book ii. p. 687. father Le-Long, and a multitude of modern writers; for who is there that does not cite the Memoirs of Sully as the firſt political treatiſe that has ſhewn us the real power of this kingdom, and in which are contained the ſeeds of whatever

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ever has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and in which is opened the beſt ſchool of the art of government?

I will now quit this conſideration for another, which I neither can nor ought to conceal; the pleaſure which ſo valuable a book affords, is attended with a degree of fatigue which makes this ornament of libraries uſeleſs to the greater part of readers.

This is to be imputed to want of method, and defects of ſtyle; the ſubjects lie here in great confuſion; thoſe who have ranged them propoſe to entertain us with particular recitals of military, political, and domeſtic affairs; but they neither know how to keep them apart, nor to join them properly: a fact is cleared up, or a narrative continued, at the diſtance, ſometimes, of an hundred pages; from the beginning of the firſt volume, one muſt often jump to the end of the ſecond; the letters of Henry, which ought to be regularly inſerted in the ſtory, are bundled up together and put by themſelves, or introduced where they only break the thread of the diſcourſe, to which very often they have no relation: the maxims of law and government are driven off to a diſtant part, where it is often difficult to meet with them; they have the appearance of an independant note, and one might have known, that the compilers were mere men of buſineſs, though they had not told it.

As to the diction, it is not going too far to ſay, that it has every fault which diction can admit; it is too much diffuſed, obſcured frequently by the enormous protraction of the ſentences, and frequently by the impropriety of the

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the words, which are ſometimes creeping and low, and ſometimes ſwelled with ridiculous magnificence.

Theſe two general reflections on the Memoirs of Sully, one ſhould have imagined might have put it into the thoughts of ſome of our beſt writers, to make that book agreeable, which is ſo intereſting and uſeful; the other, becauſe what they have good ariſes from the ſubject, and what is wrong conſiſts only in the form in which they are ſhewn. It is allowed on all hands, that this muſt be excepted from the number of thoſe old books, which cannot be altered without being ſpoiled; but the danger of giving offence to the nicety of critics, has hitherto driven away all thoughts of ſuch an undertaking: and I confeſs that I could never have engaged in it, had I not been urged on by that fondneſs for the original, which brings the paſſions as well as the genius into a work, and makes us blind to all the obſtacles that may oppoſe us; for, to accommodate ſuch a work as this to the preſent taſte, a man muſt preſerve at once the fidelity of a tranſlator, and the liberty of a compoſer: he muſt carefully preſerve the ſenſe of his author, tho' he muſt abridge, tranſpoſe, and methodiſe his work.

An emendation, merely grammatical, which ſhould reach no farther than to change thoſe expreſſions, which are confeſſedly bad, and to retrench thoſe that are apparently ſuperfluous, would have been ſhort of the reformation which the ſtyle requires; and, if nothing had been attempted but to bring the ſcattered parts of the ſtory together, and methodiſe thoſe things

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things that are out of order, to free the book from the inconvenience of confuſion, even this muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the text. I have tried every method that I could invent to avoid the neceſſity of taking the work wholly to pieces, and moulding it anew: but I ſaw, at laſt, that no other way would anſwer my intention: I was convinced that a ſtyle ſo faulty as that of theſe Memoirs, was far from deſerving to be treated with the ſame reſpect as that of Comines, Montagne, and Amyot: that the mere general alterations, which are confeſſedly neceſſary, would change it ſo much from its preſent ſtate, that to make it yet more different, was no great matter: and that theſe alterations, producing a neceſſity of connections and tranſitions which would naturally be of a different caſt of language from the reſt, many patches of new ſtyle appearing in theſe pages of antiquity, would have been a diſagreeable and diſſimular mixture: and that the original muſt not only be cleared from a great number of odd expreſſions, but of unnatural and unuſual ideas, which appears in the ridiculous ſingularity in the very title, Oeconomies Royales, & Servitudes Loyales: that ſuch liberties as I have taken was neceſſary, in order to arrive at a juſt chronology and arrangement of matter: and that this liberty was conſiſtent enough with the obligation of preſerving the ſenſe of the original, and ſuffering the Memoirs of Sully to loſe nothing by being put into a new language.

In the firſt place, I found it indiſpenſably neceſſary to change this ſtated language of ſecretaries,

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taries, who know nothing but to praiſe and flatter. What can be more tedious than to ſee them, at every line, addreſſing their maſter to put him in mind of ſomething that has already happened, and to confeſs that he underſtands the buſineſs better than themſelves? This perpetual addreſs made the book little more than a long dedication; and yet this could not have been corrected without giving the work a new form.

I muſt add, that the hiſtorical narrative, which allows only the third perſon to be uſed, could not take place here, as I immediately found, when I endeavoured to apply it: for the Memoirs of Sully, as I have already ſaid, inſtead of one principal actor, preſent us with two, whoſe parts conſtantly intermingled in the recital, or who almoſt always make their appearance together, either talking between themſelves or with other perſons. The pronouns he and him, which in other hiſtories ſupply ſo conveniently the place of proper names, muſt, in a book like this, have been applied ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another, which would have produced an obſcurity not to have been avoided, but by repetitions and circumlocutions equally inconvenient. If, to rid our hands of this difficulty, which will be generally perceived, this book had been entituled Memoirs to contribute to a hiſtory of Henry IV. and the relation had been contracted to the actions of that prince, this had at once cut off half the Memoirs, and perhaps that half which can leaſt be ſpared; for the life and actions of Henry the Great

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are every where to be found; but thoſe of the duke of Sully can be read no where elſe: and it had been ſtill leſs proper to have mentioned only the action of the miniſter.

There remained therefore only one ſcheme to purſue, that of making Sully tell his own ſtory. I yielded with leſs reluctance to this neceſſity, as I found it likely to be the ſource of new pleaſure; for nothing is more proper to throw over a work thoſe intereſting paſſages, which put the heart into emotion, than to introduce the principal actor in a complicated affair, entertaining you with an account of the part which he acted; and what an actor would he appear if one could attain to make him ſpeak as ſuch a miniſter, ſo favoured by his maſter, and ſo reſpected by all the ranks of the community, might be ſuppoſed to ſpeak at the preſent time.

This ſingle motive might prevail upon the public to grant me the indulgence which I require, for the only real liberty I have taken, if it ſhould be found that I have, in other reſpects, diſcharged the duty which this licence made indiſpenſible; but, as I cannot aſſume ſo much to myſelf, I ſhall found my defence upon a matter of fact; which is, that, in reality, the duke of Sully himſelf is the true author of the Memoirs which bear his name; ſince the original pieces are his own, and his ſecretaries did nothing more than ſtitch them together. This is eaſily perceived in ſeveral places, where the pen of the miniſter being withheld, either by promiſe of ſecreſy or ſome conſideration equally ſtrong, you ſee the reader's

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reader's expectation disappointed with regard to facts of which the secretaries themselves had apparently not the least knowlege. This is therefore no robbery, but an honest restitution, which I make to their master of his own works. In attestation of this, I can produce all our writers, who shew evidently when they quote the Memoirs of Sully, that they consider them as the work of that great man, and depend upon his authority. The single doubt of Vittorio Siri * is of no weight against so much evidence.

This critical disquisition I do not think of sufficient importance or amusement, to require that I should transcribe whole pages to establish this truth, by exhibiting the words of Henry, Sully, or the secretaries themselves: he that thinks it worth his while, may consult the places marked in the margin †. I shall here offer only a conjecture, which I submit to the discernment of my reader.

The Memoirs of Sully were formed first upon the observations which M. de Rosny began, from his earliest youth, to make upon the events of his times, as well those that related to the public as those that affected his master and himself. To these were added, in the next place, the observations which he set down at the entreaty of his prince, who soon began to distinguish a man of his character. M. de Rosny had plainly no intention to write a connected narrative, much less a formal his-

* Mem. Rec. Vol. I. p. 29. 434, 435, 440, 448. Tom.
† Epît. des 1, & 3 Tom. III. p 82, 83, 294, 385, &c. Tom. II. p. 407, 409, 410, Tom. II. p. 440.

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tory, but only a collection of pieces upon ſeveral events of his time, which he improved with his own reflections on government *. The term Journal, which is ſometimes uſed, is not to be taken in the ſtricteſt ſenſe: accounts conſiſting of pieces thus independent, were not things abſolutely new in his time. It is not unlikely that he conſidered himſelf as collecting materials for more regular memoirs, which he afterwards thought fit to communicate to the public, under the name of his ſecretaries, rather than his own.

Theſe regiſters †, of which there has been already mention, were put into the hands of four of his ſecretaries, two of whom compoſed at firſt the two former volumes, ſuch as they now appear, the two other ſecretaries, who were taken into the ſervice of Sully at the time of his retreat, were buſy, at the ſame time, upon the firſt of his two following volumes, which compriſes a ſpace of five years, from 1605 to the death of Henry IV. and imagining their labour incomplete, unleſs they ſhould produce two volumes as well as their fellows, they fell to tumbling over all their maſter's papers, and at laſt attained their purpoſe. But notice muſt be taken, that they are not to be believed too eaſily with reſpect to the place where theſe Memoirs are ſaid to be printed; for they had an intereſt in impoſing upon the public, by making it be believed that theſe Memoirs were not printed in France ‡. Guy-Patin, father Le-Long, the abbe Lenglet, and

* Tom. II. p. 448. Tom. III. p. 83, 385. † Epît. Limin du Tom. III. Tom. II. p. 410. ‡ Epît. Limin, ibid.

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several others, are confident that the two first volumes were printed at the castle of Sully; and for the two last, it is a known fact that their first appearance was in an edition printed at Paris 1662, by the care of the abbe Le-Labourcur.

In the Memoirs of Mademoiselle mention is made of letters, and a great number of other original pieces, which the count de Bethune kept with great care, and shewed as a curiosity to those that came to see him. Of these, part, at least, may be thought the minutes of the duke of Sully. But, since none of these pieces are found in the vast collection of manuscripts presented by the count de Bethune, in 1664, to the late king, we may conclude that, after the publication of these Memoirs, those minutes were destroyed as of no farther use: but, for my part, I make so little reckoning of the works of the compilers, that I could wish to have only the originals as they had them; for what they have given us of their own makes no essential addition, nor has any consequence but that of concealing the true work of Sully, which, in many places, cannot be distinguished or disintangled from theirs; for they did not content themselves with ranging their pieces according to the order of time, which was the best thing they were capable of doing.

I know not whether there is not even room to suspect them of having suppressed some pieces of considerable importance. One may safely charge them, at least, with having destroyed The Treatise of War, The Marechal de Camp, The Instructions Military and Political, and

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ſome other works of the duke of Sully, which have certainly been once in exiſtence. They have been ſought to no purpoſe in the cloſet of the preſent duke of Sully *, notwithſtanding the pains which he, who is ſo well known for his love of literature and antiquities, has taken to recover monuments which contribute ſo much to the honour of his family. He has little more than ſome accounts and memoirs relating to the different employments of Maximilian duke of Sully, of which the ſubſtance is found in this book. The only manuſcripts that raiſe much curioſity, are the original copy of the firſt volume of the Memoirs of Sully, from which the impreſſion was certainly taken; and the two laſt volumes of a kind of heroic romance, of which the two firſt have been loſt. Theſe adventures, or allegorical hiſtories of that age, are entituled, Gelaſtide, ou les Illuſtres princeſſes pucelles du puiſſant Empire de la grande Sclaramane Doloſophomorie, les Sclarazones diamantées, Percy de Rubicelle & Pyrope; titles as ſingular as thoſe of the Memoirs of Sully, and which ſhew that they are drawn up by the ſame hand.

It is poſſible that the loſs of theſe originals is imputed to Sully himſelf, ſince his ſecretaries acted not only under his orders, but under his own eyes †. In that caſe we ſhall be forced to confeſs, that a little vanity, from which this miniſter was not free, kept him from ſuffering his Memoirs to appear in his own name: he perceived that he could not forbear to give him-

* Louis-Pierre-Maximilian de Béthune.

† Tom. III. p. 83 and 294.

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ſelf the honour of the brighteſt part of the reign of Henry IV. and, not caring either to praiſe himſelf or to loſe the praiſe he had deſerved, he determined to have that ſaid by others which he could not modeſtly ſay himſelf.

He is charged with another fault proceeding equally from vanity, but which, if we examine it well, may appear very innocent; it is the freedom with which he acts and ſpeaks. Let us hear, on this head, our antient diſſertator. "This ſtiff and haughty humour, ſays he, "which ſo often obliges his prince to ſpeak "firſt, and to open himſelf to him, if it had "been ſoftened and made more eaſy, would "have been perhaps more perfect, and more "deſerving of imitation; but, if the original "was as it is repreſented, and nature had "formed it of this caſt, it ought not to be flattered or diſguiſed: if this gravity and general "circumſpection, which his enemies mention "as a reproach to his memory, was the very "quality which gave ſo much value to his "miniſtry and his credit, we ought not to "regret it in him as a blot, or condemn it as "a defect." And indeed, if a miniſter is of known honeſty, and unſuſpected of any bad deſign, why ſhould he, in ſpeaking to his maſter, or tranſacting with him, recede from the privilege of following the ſevere dictates of truth? Without this liberty the condition of private men would be much happier than that of princes; but we may ſufficiently prove, that Sully deſerves no reproach of this kind, by obſerving that he never received any from his

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maſter, who not only allowed, but loved and praiſed his freedom of ſpeech. Whatever may be ſaid, for inſtance, of the famous promiſe of marriage which Sully tore in pieces in the hands of Henry, I ſee nothing in that affair which does not deſerve admiration, and there is no fear that it ſhall be drawn into precedent.

The neceſſity of being beforehand with the reader, for my own ſake, has given occaſion to theſe two remarks. I have conſidered it as indecent in Sully to relate all that happened of this kind with Henry IV. and as to perſonal commendations, I cut off what was uttered by ſecretaries, and could never have been ſaid by him, and keep all that he has ſaid, or ſuffered others to ſay to him, that was for his own honour, or for that of the family of Bethune. In like manner I let all ſtand which the ſame vanity, joined with his religious prejudices, diſpoſed him to advance with relation to the greateſt families; ſuch as the houſe of Auſtria, among others, or concerning private perſons, to whom he has not always done juſtice; ſuch as the dukes de Nevers and de Epernon, meſſieurs de Villeroi, Jeannin, and the cardinal de Oſſat, and others, amongſt the roman catholics; and the dukes de Rohan, de Bouillon, and de La-Trémouille, Du-Pleſſis-Mornay; and to conclude, with reſpect to a ſociety deſerving eſteem, for purity of manners, and the ſervice it has done the public, by the education of youth, and the advancement of polite literature.

If I ſtop at this head, it is only to ſhow how much I deteſt every ſpecies of prejudice; for other-

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otherwiſe I know well enough that I ſhall never be called to account about it: it was my duty to preſerve the ground-work of the original inviolate; and as the original, which I am far from ſuppoſing that my work will put out of the world, muſt always remain in its true ſtate, it would appear againſt me, if I ſhould dare to alter it, and furniſh an accuſation againſt me of diſhoneſty and flattery; all that I have been able to do, and I proteſt I have done it only out of regard to juſtice, is to ſhew my diſlike by frequent corrections, from which alone the public is to judge of my real ſentiments.

It appears indeed to me, that a ſingle word is ſufficient to put an end to the greateſt part of the imputation thrown upon the jeſuits and other good catholics by the duke of Sully: we muſt conſider that they acted upon one principle, and he judged of their actions upon another. It may be added, that in the circumſtances of thoſe things, during the tranſaction, it was difficult to paſs a right judgment upon the meaſures of the different parties: at preſent, ſince time has given new light to their cauſes, motives, and means, we who are neither carried away by the heat of action, nor overpowered by fear, hope, or deſire, have, with reſpect to the ſubject on which we are treating, two opinions almoſt oppoſite; we deteſt the league, and have great reaſon to deteſt it; but, on the other hand, we judge, and not without probability, that, if the league had not been, France was in danger of ſuffering the greateſt of all evils, the loſs of the true religion. If Villeroi, D'Oſſat, and others,

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ſtand in need of defence, it is on this principle, That they muſt be defended.

A motive of the ſame kind determined me likewiſe to write notes upon paſſages where Sully ſpeaks unfavourably of the Spaniards, the Engliſh, and other kingdoms in our neighbourhood. I am as far from applauding his prejudices as eſpouſing his quarrels. To ſee nothing in other nations worthy of praiſe, is to be blind; to ſee it, and not own it, is to be weak.

Another article, which appears to me of yet greater importance than all theſe, is the liberty with which the author ſometimes diſcovers his particular principles, with reſpect to the very ſubſtance of religion. It is natural to imagine, that a man full of knowlege, of reflection, and of good qualities, muſt have been very dangerous when he was led to ſpeak of the reformed religion, which it is known that the duke of Sully always remained a firm adherent to. Such was my notion of the matter; but the firſt peruſal of his Memoirs altered my opinion. I will quote, upon this occaſion, for the laſt time, the writer whoſe teſtimony I have ſo often made uſe of, to ſhew that theſe Memoirs cannot make, at this time, theſe impreſſions which they were unable to make when they were new. "It is not, ſays the author, "upon account of his religious opinions, that "he is to be conſidered as a model, or as an "original; we are to look into theſe Memoirs "for a general, a grand-maſter of the ordnance, "a ſuperintendant of the finances, and a mi-"niſter of an univerſal genius, concurring in "all

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"all the ſchemes of his prince; but you are "not here to expect a picture of a chriſtian, "and much leſs of a catholic. —— Theſe "books," ſays the ſame writer, in another place, "do not ſhew him properly pious or "religious, becauſe they do not ſhew him a "catholic."

The author might have added another reaſon of yet greater force, which is, that when Sully repreſents himſelf either as a reformed, or catholic, that man, whoſe reaſonings upon almoſt every other ſubject is ſolid and concluſive, appears ſo wretched as a divine, that the mere compariſon of his writings with themſelves is ſufficient to confute him; beſides, how many confeſſions are drawn from him by the force of truth? how much does he ſay againſt the mad determination of ſome proteſtant ſynods, againſt the intrigues and bad deſigns of the chief of that party; againſt the mutinous and ſeditious temper of the whole body? It is ſomething ſo ſingular, to ſee the duke of Sully by turns a Calviniſt, and an enemy to Calviniſts, that I thought it neceſſary to preſerve whatever he has ſaid on the ſubject of religion, leſt what I had ſuppreſſed had been thought of more importance than it really is. But I thought it neceſſary to be likewiſe liberal of my notes, in oppoſition to thoſe paſſages, and perhaps under the notion, that I could never be careful enough of weak minds, I may, without thinking of it, have ſhewn ſome regard to my firſt ſcruples.

The notes have been conſiderably multiplied by another conſideration. As I was deſirous

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to make this work more clear and compleat, I have shewn the same regard to things of mere entertainment as for those of necessity. I could not prevail upon myself to skip over a fact obscure or but slightly touched, without clearing it up and explaining it. In one place, therefore, you will find a passage of pure amusement producing another of the same kind; in another place, a person of note is mentioned only by his name, and I have thought it necessary to add his christian or surname, his dignities or employments, and sometimes the year of his birth or his death. There are notes likewise, in which I have endeavoured to rectify false calculations and mistaken dates, and to adjust the valuation of coins; and on all these occasions, I have endeavoured to copy only from our best writers, and to draw immediately from the fountain-head; thus the Memoirs of the League, d'Etoile and de Nevers; les Chronologies Novennaire et Septennaire of Cayet, and the Mercure François; messieurs de Thou, Péréfixe, Matthieu, Davila, Le-Grain, D'Aubigné; the manuscripts of the king's library, the Letters of the cardinal D'Ossat *, &c. are my vouchers for facts; and for all the rest, my credit depends upon the books which have furnished the assistance that I happened to want. I have commonly contented myself with giving their words upon the subject before me, without entering into any disquisitions, except when contrariety of opinions seemed to require it. But notwithstanding this precaution, the margin

* For these letters I consulted the old folio edition, as also the old edition of L'Etoile's Memoirs.

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of the five or six first books are somewhat crouded; nor was it in my power to do otherwise, the first Years of Henry IV. affording a prodigious number of facts of every sort, which Sully has only hinted at, or mentioned very slightly.

To these might very properly have been added, notes upon politics, war, the finances, government, and naval affairs; and I could not, but in compliance with my inclination, scatter a few upon the last books, particularly, of which the subject made them often useful, and sometimes absolutely necessary.

As to maxims and reflections, the only use that could properly have been made of them, was to scatter them here and there in the places where they have relation. With respect to another part of this work, I have taken a contrary method: I have brought together all that was said in different places upon the great and famous design of Henry IV. which seems often to break the narration in an unpleasant manner; and finding no place where a recital of so many particulars could be inserted, I made a book of it by itself. I may be suspected upon these last heads, of having made great additions to my original; but let the reader suspend his judgment till he has read it from beginning to end. I am well aware, that the necessity of arranging these materials in a different order, has given this work a kind of original air, which distinguishes it from common translations, without giving the rank of a work of invention. There are many other places where it will be seen, that if I had thought myself entitled to an absolute authority over my original,

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ginal, I ſhould often have given it another caſt. As to references, it was not poſſible to put them all in the margin, and they would have only tired the reader.

The letters, which are ſcattered here and there, I could only have made uſeful, by caſting them into a narrative, and joining them with the fact to which they relate: by this means, I have contrived to diverſify my hiſtory, and have made the letters more uſeful than they were before. It is common for thoſe who write on things talked of by them before, to mention them imperfectly; theſe omiſſions I commonly ſupplied with a note, when the matter is ſuch as can be diſcovered, or deſerves explanation; for of this prodigious number of letters, either of the king's or Sully's, the greater part only contains particulars of ſmall importance: all theſe I conſider as uſeleſs, and retrench them either wholly or in part; and I take the ſame courſe with the recitals that are too long, with trifling remarks, with diffuſe memorials and regulations of the finances, drawn out in particularities: but when I find letters, converſations, or other pieces, truly original, I copy them faithfully, except when I meet with a word that would offend the ear, I change it to another: this I intend for the gratification of thoſe readers who would complain, if in theſe ancient Memoirs, the perſonages that are introduced ſhould talk always like men of our own time, and judge of the pleaſure they muſt receive from the ſingularity of the ancient language, by that which it gives to myſelf.

I have

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I have followed the uſual method, of dividing a hiſtorical work into books, rather than into chapters; there are here thirty books, reckoning the account of Henry's great project for one of them. Some were of opinion, that this project, having never been executed, might have been omitted; but it ſeemed to me to make ſo conſiderable a part of Sully's Memoirs, that the public were likely to be offended with its ſuppreſſion.

I thought it not for my purpoſe to proceed farther than the retreat of Sully, in which I have ventured to differ from my original: but beſides, that, according to my ſcheme, I ſaw no uſe to be made of the pieces which had no relation either to Sully or Henry IV. I thought, judging of theſe pieces critically, that they did not deſerve much attention from mankind. I find nothing in the fourth volume which can truly be called the work of the duke of Sully, more than what he ſays of the new court, of the council, and of himſelf, to his departure from Paris; together with the regulations that he had formed for different purpoſes, and the evidence he gives of the great deſign of Henry IV. As to the furious invective againſt Villeroi, and the other pieces belonging to the reign of Lewis XIII. and, in a word, whatever is contained in the two hundred laſt pages of the fourth volume, the whole is apparently of another hand; ſo immethodical, ſo unconnected, and at the ſame time ſo trifling and ſo dull, that I could look upon it only as a thing compiled by one of his ſecretaries, without judgment, and for this only purpoſe, as themſelves confeſs, that

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that the last volume might be as large as the former *; all this is to be ranked with the panegyrics, sonnets, and other pieces, both in French and Latin; which the reader, if such things happen to please him, may look for in the original.

As we cannot learn from these Memoirs what became of the duke of Sully from his retreat to his death, and as the reader may be curious about him, I have given him a Supplement. Nothing of the lives of great men should be lost or neglected: this Supplement is more full and interesting than I at first could promise myself, by means of the information with which the duke of Sully has been pleased to supply me.

I make use, as I have already said, of the edition in folio; it is properly in four volumes, though in some libraries it is bound in two: the first and second of these volumes printed at Amsterdam, that is to say, at Sully, without the date of the year or the printer, for that which appears at its head is counterfeit: this is commonly called the green-lettered edition, on account of its VVV, and its front-piece coloured with green. The third and fourth volume, printed at Paris by permission, by Augustin Courbé, in 1662. this edition is incorrect, but some of the others are mutilated, which is worse. I shall here enumerate the subsequent editions; the two first volumes were reprinted at Rouen, 1649. in two volumes in folio; in a smaller letter, at Amsterdam, 1654, in four volumes 12°. At Paris, 1664, by

* Epît. Limin. du Tom. III.

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Courbé, in two volumes in folio. The third and fourth volumes were reprinted at Paris, 1663, in eight volumes 12°; and at the ſame time at Rouen, in ſeven volumes 12°. The laſt edition is that of Trevoux, in 1725, in twelve volumes 12°.

What I have here to add is to aſſure the public, that I reſpect it too much to expoſe myſelf to its cenſure, by any faults that labour and attention could enable me to avoid; and as for any others, as they may ſerve, if not to correct my work, at leaſt to mend my ſelf for the future, I am ſo far from endeavouring to obviate them, that I entreat the world not to ſpare them; they ſhall never find me claiming the indulgence naturally due to the firſt attempt, nor do I plead my ſituation in excuſe; though my ſituation was ſo little propitious to this kind of labour, that I ſhould have ſeen myſelf obliged to throw it up, had I not been aſſiſted by perſons whoſe generoſity was equal to their zeal for the advancement of learning. This confeſſion is due to truth. I ſhould likewiſe be guilty of extreme ingratitude, if I omitted to make it known, that a man of genius and candor, who had been intimately acquainted with the two late dukes of Sully, not only gave me the firſt notion of this work, but aſſiſted me likewiſe to form the plan, and promoted the execution by all the means which his friendſhip or generoſity could dictate.

A SUM-

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A

SUMMARY

OF THE

BOOKS contained in the FIRST VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the FIRST BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1570 to 1580. State of affairs in the council of France, and thoſe of the calviniſts, at the peace of 1570. Roſny's extraction, and anecdotes of the houſe of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years, of the prince of Navarre. Idea of the government under Henry II. Francis II. and during the firſt years of the reign of Charles IX. Artifice of queen Catherine of Medicis to ruin the huguenots. Roſny engages himſelf in the ſervice of the king of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the queen of Navarre. The wounding of admiral Coligny, and other cauſes of ſuſpicion, which the court gave to the proteſtants. Profound diſſimulation of Charles IX. Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; a particular relation of this event. Obſervations and reflections upon it. The conduct of Charles IX. and admiral Coligny. In what manner the king of Navarre and Roſny eſcaped being maſſacred. Education of Roſny. The calviniſts reſume courage, and retrieve their affairs. Flight of the prince of Condé. Impriſonment of the princes. The inſurrection of Shrove Tueſday. Death of Charles IX. His character. Henry III. returns to France, and declares

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war againſt the huguenots. Flight of Monſieur and the king of Navarre. The queen-mother deceives them by the peace called the Peace of Monſieur. The war is renewed. Military rencounters, and taking of cities. Roſny's firſt exploits in arms. The peace of 1577. Conferences between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. More military expeditions. Taking of Cahors, &c. Faults committed by Roſny.

SUMMARY of the SECOND BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1580 to the year 1587. Affairs of Flanders. The United Provinces offer their crown to Monſieur: he goes to Holland; Roſny attends him. The taking of Câteau-Cambreſis, &c. Monſieur ſurpriſes the citadel of Cambrai: he goes to England; returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the proteſtants on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; diſconcerted by the prince of Orange. Roſny diſſatisfied with Monſieur, who finding all his ſchemes blaſted, returns to France. Roſny returns likewiſe, after having viſited the city of Béthune. Spain makes offers to the king of Navarre. Roſny ſent to the court of France by the king of Navarre: he viſits Monſieur. Death of that prince. Roſny's ſecond journey to Paris, and negociation there: his marriage. Domeſtic employments. Origin, formation, and progreſs, of the League. Henry III. joins the League againſt the king of Navarre. Diviſions in the calviniſt party; the views of its chiefs. Roſny is again ſent to Paris by the king of Navarre, to obſerve the motions of the League. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Roſny. The prince of Condé in extreme peril. The king of Navarre in great perplexities. Military expeditions. Roſny negociates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c. Roſny goes

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to visit and assist his wife during the calamity of the plague. Fruitless interviews between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. A series of military expeditions. Rosny defeats one of the enemies squadrons. Other successes of the calvinists; a declared persecution against them. Madame de Rosny in great danger. Rosny's secret journey to Paris. The duke of Joyeuse leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the king of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of this battle.

SUMMARY of the THIRD BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1587 to the year 1590. Errors committed by the king of Navarre and the protestants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret designs of the prince of Condé, the count of Soissons, and the viscount Turenne. Death of the prince of Condé; observations upon his death. The battle of the Barricades, and the consequences; reflections upon this event. The duke and cardinal of Guise assassinated; reflections and observations on this occasion. Death of Catherine de Medicis. The pusillanimity of Henry III. with respect to the League. Rosny negociates a treaty of alliance between the two kings; the disgust he receives upon this occasion. Interview of the two kings. The duke of Maïenne sits down before Tours; military exploits on both sides. Battle of Fosseuse, at which Rosny is present. Death of madame de Rosny. Military successes of the two kings. Siege of Paris. Death of Henry III. particulars of this assassination. Henry IV. asks counsel of Rosny; the perplexing situation of this prince. The dispositions of the several officers in the royalist army with respect to him. Rosny surprises Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Rosny was present. Skirmishes at Pollet. Henry IV. often in danger. An attempt upon Paris. Rencounters

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and ſieges of different places. Digreſſions upon thoſe Memoirs. Siege of Meulan. A Spaniſh army in France. Roſny defends Paſſi. The battle of Ivry; particulars of this battle. Roſny often in great danger; is wounded in ſeveral places; he is carried by his own orders to Roſny: Henry IV's affectionate behaviour to him there.

SUMMARY of the FOURTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1590 to 1592. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry; diſſipations of the finances, and other cauſes of the little advantages he derived from it. Cities taken. Attempts on others; diſappointed. The taking of the ſuburbs of Paris; the ſiege of this city; particulars relating to this ſiege; the cauſes which obliged Henry to raiſe it. The prince of Parma leads an army thither: his encampment, and other military details. An error committed by Henry: he obliges the prince of Parma to retire. The ſiege of Chartres. An adventure wherein Roſny is in danger of being killed: he retires to Roſny in diſcontent. Succeſs of Henry IV's arms. The taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. An enterpriſe upon Mante. The duke of Montpenſier's expeditions in Normandy. Preparations for the ſiege of Rouen; errors committed at this ſiege. Mutual animoſities between the ſoldiers and officers of Henry's army. Attacks, aſſaults, and other particulars of this ſiege. The prince of Parma comes again with an army into France. The inſolence of the council of ſixteen. Henry advances to meet the prince of Parma. An enterpriſe boldly ſeconded by the duke of Nevers. The battle of Aumale; particulars of this battle, and obſervations upon it. Henry raiſes the ſiege of Rouen: marches, encampments, rencounters, and battles, betwixt him and the prince of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Obſervations upon theſe battles. A glorious exploit of

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of the prince of Parma at the paſſage of the Seine. Henry's army refuſes to purſue him; the cauſes of this refuſal; and reflection upon it.

SUMMARY of the FIFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592—1593. A ſuccinct account of the ſtate of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592. Intrigues carried on by the count of Soiſſons: his character. An abridgment of the duke of Epernon's hiſtory: his diſobedience; his character. Several parties formed in the ſouthern provinces of France: a ſhort account of what paſſed there. The ſiege of Villemur. The ſiege of Eperni, where marſhal Biron is ſlain: his eulogium. Death of the prince of Parma. Roſny marries again, and retires in diſcontent. The cauſe of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negociations between Spain and the League. A detail and examen of thoſe papers. A third party formed in France: the perſons who compoſe it; and their views. Henry follows Roſny's advice. The wiſe and cautious conduct obſerved by them both. Converſations betwixt them, wherein Roſny prevails upon him to change his religion. Henry ſounds the proteſtants upon this reſolution. Roſny's conference with Bellozane, the two Durets, and Du-Perron. Conditions offered by the League to Henry; with what deſign; rejected. The meeting of the ſtates of Paris. A project of the prince of Parma's badly executed. Diſunion of the catholic chiefs in theſe ſtates: their intrigues and artifices to ſupplant each other. The parliament of Paris publiſhes an arret. The zeal of its members for the honour of the crown. The truce. The great wiſdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the diſſenſions among the chiefs of the League. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Roſny gives the king very prudent advice. The ſiege of Dreux; taken by Roſny's means. Henry

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removes all obſtacles to his converſion. Particulars relating to his abjuration.

SUMMARY of the SIXTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592—1594. Conduct of Henry with regard to the Pope, Spain, the League, and the hugenots, after his abjuration. Another truce. Artifices of Spain. Barriere's attempt upon the life of Henry. The jeſuits accuſed and cleared of this crime. Roſny begins a negociation with admiral Villars, to diſengage him from the party of the League. Feſcamp ſurpriſed by a very extraordinary method. A diſpute raiſed about this fort. Several cities ſurrender to Henry. Roſny's journey to Rouen: a detail of his negociations with Villars. The character of that governor. Roſny is employed by Henry to effect a reconciliation betwixt the duke of Montpenſier and the count of Soiſſons, and to break off the marriage of the latter with the princeſs Catherine. He viſits the ducheſs of Aumale at Anet. A farther account of his negociations with Villars, Médavy, and others. The treaty with Villars, after many obſtacles, concluded. Henry is received into Paris. Circumſtances relating to this reduction. Several inſtances of the generoſity and clemency of this prince. An accommodation with Villeroi. Roſny's third journey to Rouen. Villars ſends away the deputies of Spain and the League. The ceremony with which Rouen was ſurrendered to the king. The conditions upon which Roſny conſents to receive any gratuities. Villars comes to court. An inſtance of Henry's generoſity. Lyons ſubmits to the king, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the duke de Nemours to the contrary. Poitiers, Cambrai, and other cities do the ſame. The taking of La-Capelle by the Spaniards. The ſiege of Laon commences. The affairs which oblige Roſny to return to Paris: his converſation with

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with the cardinal of Bourbon: he ſupports the jeſuits in their proceſs with the univerſity and curates of Paris: he returns to the ſiege of Paris. A farther account of the ſiege. Henry's indefatigable labours there. A great convoy of Spaniards defeated by Biron. Roſny preſent at this rencounter. The king diſpleaſed with Biron. The Spaniards endeavour in vain to throw ſupplies into Laon.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK I.

THEY flattered themſelves at the court of Charles IX. that the miſeries which befel the proteſtants under the preceding reigns, would at laſt oblige them either to ſubmit to the king's will, or to leave the kingdom. The death of the prince of Condé *, their leader, the loſs of two great battles †, the utter diſperſion of their ſoldiers, and the little probability of their being able to re-animate the feeble remainder of their troops, diſcouraged by a long train of misfortunes, all contributed to perſuade them, that the moment of their ruin approached ‡. A courage ſuperior to 1570.

* Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, brother of Antony king of Navarre, and ſon of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome. He was taken priſoner at the battle of Jarnac, in the year 1569, and murdered by a piſtol-ſhot in the back part of his head, by the baron de Monteſquieu. This gentleman being captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, that prince was accuſed of having commanded him to aſſaſſinate the prince of Condé.

† Jarnac and Moncontour.

‡ The reader muſt not forget that it is a proteſtant who ſpeaks in theſe memoirs: the condition in which religion and politics are at preſent in France, leaves no room to apprehend any bad conſequences to either from what Monſieur de Sully can ſay in favour of the pretended reformed religion. One may even, from the author's own words in ſeveral places, draw very ſtrong arguments for the unity of religion in a kingdom, and the advantage the catholic religion has over the proteſtant. See what is ſaid on this ſubject in the preface to this work.

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1570. all events, supported them in circumstances so distressful: they recalled their soldiers, who were scattered throughout the provinces, and who now began to draw together from Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was named for the place of their general rendezvous; Vezelai, and some other towns, still holding out for them in that neighbourhood. They had even the boldness to promise themselves, they should spread the alarm as far as Paris, as soon as they were reinforced by some considerable supplies of horse and foot, that they expected from Germany.

This news gave great uneasiness to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis; but she flattered herself, that it would not be difficult to hinder their junction, and afterwards to disperse the troops, which she supposed would be by that means thrown into a consternation. For this purpose she ordered a powerful army to march. Strozzy *, La Chatre, Tavannes, La Valette, and all the general officers in France, were desirous of serving in it; and the marechal de Cossé †, who was to have the supreme command, suffered himself to be intoxicated with the glory he should acquire, by extirpating even the last hugenot soldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the queen-mo-

* Philip Strozzy, lord of Epernay, son of Peter Strozzy, marechal of France. Claude de la Chatre, afterwards marechal of France. John de Nogaret, father of the duke d'Epernon. Gaspard de Saulx de Tavannes, who was also marechal of France; he had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counsellors and confidents of Catherine de Medicis. His character may be known by the following traits, which I shall copy from the author of the Henriade in his notes, p. 34. "In "the night of St. Bartholomew," says he, "he ran through the "streets of Paris, crying, "Let "blood, let blood; bleeding is "as good in the month of August "as in May. His son, who has "written his memoirs, relates, "that his father being upon his "death-bed, made a general confession of the sins of his life; "after which his confessor saying "to him with an air of astonish-"ment, Why! you speak not a "word of St. Bartholomew. I "look upon that, replied the "marechal, as a meritorious ac-"tion, which ought to atone "for all the sins I have ever "committed."

† Artus de Cossé, lord of Gonnor, who died in 1582.

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ther: but he was ſoon undeceived: the proteſtant army received him with great intrepidity; they were always the firſt to offer battle; in the ſkirmiſhes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their ſide; and they even carried away a kind of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc *. So much obſtinacy convinced the queen-mother, that to ruin the proteſtant party it would be neceſſary to have recourſe to other meaſures than war. Treachery ſeemed to her the ſecureſt; and, in order to gain time to prepare for it, ſhe liſtened ſo favourably to propoſals for an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was leaſt expected, and upon conditions very advantageous for the hugenots. This was the peace † of 1570. After which, during the ſpace of two years, each party taſted the ſweets of a repoſe, that had been equally deſired by both. 1570.

* It was expected from appearances, that the marechal de Coſſé would beat the hugenot army, or at leaſt prevent it from approaching Paris; neither the one, nor the other he performed; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat after a very ſmart encounter, and from thenceforward contented himſelf with watching the motions of the enemy. In this engagement the calviniſts were commanded by the prince of Navarre and the prince of Condé his couſin german, the one ſixteen, the other ſeventeen years of age, and by the admiral de Coligny. Peter Matthieu, the hiſtorian, relates theſe words of Henry IV. after he had aſcended the throne; ſpeaking of this encounter of Arnai-le-duc, "My firſt "exploits in arms, ſaid this prince, "were at René-le-duc, where the "queſtion was, whether I ſhould "fight or retire. I had no retreat "nearer than forty miles from "thence, and if I ſtaid, I muſt "neceſſarily lie at the mercy of "the country people. By fighting, I ran the riſk of being taken or ſlain, for I had no cannon, and the king's forces had; "and a gentleman was killed "not ten paces diſtant from me "with a cannon ſhot: but recommending the ſucceſs of this "day to God, it pleaſed him to "make it favourable and happy." Vol. 1. book V. p. 327. In this ſame year, the hugenots gained the battle of Luçon, and took Marennes, the iſle of Oleron, Brouage, Xaintes, &c.

† By this treaty of peace, many privileges, of which they had been deprived, were reſtored to them, the number of their churches was augmented, and four cities were given them for ſecurity, La-Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La-Charité. This peace was ſigned the 11th of Auguſt, and was called the lame and ill-founded peace, becauſe it was concluded in the name of the king by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Meſmes, lord of Malaſſize, which in French ſignifies ill founded.

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1570. My father * retired to his houſe at Roſny, and employed himſelf in ſettling his domeſtic affairs. As it is the hiſtory of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I ſerved, that will make the ſubject of theſe memoirs, 'tis neceſſary that I ſhould give ſome account of my family and perſon. By ſatisfying the curioſity of the public in theſe particulars, I muſt intreat, that neither vanity nor affectation be imputed to me, ſince a ſtrict regard to truth is my only inducement for relating whatever may appear advantageous for me, either here, or in the ſucceeding parts of theſe Memoirs.

Maximilian is my baptiſmal name, and Bethune that of my family †, which derives its origin, by the houſe of Coucy, from the antient houſe of Auſtria: we muſt not, however, confound it with that which is at preſent in poſſeſſion of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This laſt is deſcended only from the counts of Habſbourg and Quibourg ‡, private gentlemen, who three hun-

* Francis de Bethune, Baron de Roſny, who died in the year 1575. His firſt wife was Charlotte Dauvet, daughter of Robert Dauvet, lord de Rieux, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and of Anne Briçonnet; by whom he had three children, whoſe names will be mentioned hereafter. His ſecond wife was Margaret de Louvigny, who brought him no iſſue.

† Theſe particulars relating to the houſe of Bethune, are drawn from the body of the antient Memoirs of Sully, and the pieces joined to them; but it will be ſafeſt to rely on the beſt modern genealogiſts, whoſe opinions we ſhall mention hereafter.

‡ It was long believed, that the houſe of Auſtria was deſcended from the counts of Habſbourg, or Thierſtein. The writings of the abbey de Mure, or Muri, in Switzerland, carelefly conſulted by Theodore Godefroy, and upon his word adopted by the beſt critics, and even by father Le Long, have given riſe to this error; but by theſe writings better examined, by the charters of the monaſtery of St. Trutpert, and other acts, it appears that this houſe is originally from Briſgaw, that it is deſcended from the antient counts of Alſace, and goes back, by Luitfrid, Rampert, Otpert, &c. counts of Habſbourg, and landgraves of Alſace, not only to Gontran the rich, count of Altembourg, who lived in the beginning of the tenth century, but even to Adelric or Ethic the firſt, called duke of Germany, eighteenth anceſtor of Raoul or Rodolph the firſt, to the middle of the ſeventh century. This ſeems to be ſufficiently well eſtabliſhed by the new work in Latin of father Merquard Hergott, a benedictin, printed at Vienna 1737, in three volumes, folio, entitled, The diplo-

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dred years since were in the pay of the cities of Strasbourg, Basi, and Zurich, and who would have thought themselves highly honoured by being stewards of the houshold to such a prince as the king of France; since Raoul, chief of this second house of Austria, held a like employment under Ottocar king of Bohemia. It is from the son of this Raoul, that the new stock of Austria properly begins, for he took the name of Austria instead of his own. 1570.

The house of Bethune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence issued the counts that anciently governed that province) boasts of one Robert de Bethune *, protector of the church of Arras, whose father and grandfather, bearing also the name of Robert, were declared

matic genealogy of the august house of Habsbourg, &c. See also the learned and judicious extract of this work, inserted in the journal des Savans, March, April, and June, 1740. Besides this general error, our Memoirs seem to have fallen into two other particular ones. It is certain, we ought not to confound this second house of Austria, with that which had the possession of Austria, &c. till the year 1248, that Frederick the last of it died, and which drew its origin from the ancient dukes of Suabia; but we want proofs of the house of Bethune's being allied to that of Suabia, or the first house of Austria, tho' it was to the second, by the house of Coucy. The duke of Sully probably gave credit to the ancient fable, that derives the house of Austria from Sigebert, son of Theodebert, king of Austrasia, and has applied it not to the second house of Austria, but to the first, although the one is no more true than the other. He has reason for saying afterwards, that Raoul or Rodolph, count of Habsbourg, and the first of this house that was emperor, had been steward of the houshold to Ottocar, king of Bohemia; and that Albert his son, elected emperor likewise, was the first of his house who took the title of duke of Austria, which happened in 1274, when Rodolph gained the dutchies of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, &c. from Ottocar his rival; but he ought at the same time to have done more justice than he has to the antiquity of this house.

* Du Chesne seems to be much of the same opinion. He proves, that Robert, called Faisseus, the head of the house of Bethune, who lived in the tenth century, descended from a younger branch of the ancient counts of Flanders, and had for his portion the lordship of the city of Bethune, first barony of the earldom of Artois. If this opinion be well grounded, 'tis certain, that it was the city of Bethune from which this branch took its name, and which was from that time borne by all the house of Bethune. The title of patron of the church was then so noble, that many sovereigns thought it an honour to be distinguished by it.

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1570. protectors of the province of Artois. One of these two Roberts de Bethune signalized himself in France, by the taking of La-Roche-vandais, a fortress upon the confines of Auvergne, where the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing with his own hand the tyrant Mainfroy, in the presence of two armies; a service which Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, did not reward too highly, by giving him his daughter Catherine to wife. They mention a fourth, Robert de Bethune, who gained a naval battle over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, bishop of Cambray, at the time of the Croisade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the reputation of great sanctity, and whose bones are revered as those of a martyr. The history of the Croisades has not forgot those who distinguished themselves at the taking of Jerusalem, by being the first that mounted the breach. Antony and Coësne de Bethune †, emulating the glory of their ancestors, were also the first that fixed the standard upon the walls of Constantinople, when Baldwin, count of Flanders, won this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coësne obtained the government of it.

Whoever has such domestic examples as these, cannot recall them too often to his memory to animate himself to follow them. Happy, if, during the course of my life, my conduct may be such, that so many illustrious men disdain not to acknowledge me, nor I have occasion to blush that I am descended from them.

† These are apparently the two brothers, sons of Robert the fifth, lord of Bethune, whom (according to William of Tyr) Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, proposed to marry to the two daughters of Baldwin, king of Jerusalem. It is also certain, that after the death of Peter de Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, this Coësne or Conon de Bethune was declared regent of the empire, during the minority of Philip de Courtenay his son.

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At length the houſe of Bethune, growing every day more illuſtrious, became allied * to almoſt all the ſovereign houſes in Europe; it entered into that of Auſtria †, and to conclude with what honoured it infinitely more, the auguſt houſe of Bourbon ‡ did not contemn its alliance. 1571.

But I muſt confeſs, that the branch from which I am deſcended, had then loſt much of its firſt ſplendor. It was the iſſue of a younger brother ‖, and the pooreſt of all who have borne this name. The eldeſt branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great eſtates it poſſeſſed in different parts of Europe did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houſes they married into.

My particular anceſtors, by marrying advantageouſly, reſtored to their branch what it wanted to maintain the dignity of its name; but all theſe riches were almoſt entirely diſſipated by the prodi-

* See in Du Cheſne and father Anſelm, all the alliances of the houſe of Bethune with different princes of France; with the emperors of Conſtantinople, the counts of Flanders, Hainault, Boulogne, the kings of Jeruſalem, the dukes of Lorrain, the kings of Caſtile, Leon, Scotland, and England, the families of Courtenay, Chatillon, Montmorency, Melun, Horn, &c.

† By Jean de Coucy, who married John de Bethune. It muſt be obſerved, that as often as the houſe of Coucy is mentioned here, it is not in reality the houſe of Coucy but that of Guines that is meant. The eldeſt branch of this ancient houſe of Coucy was extinct in the perſon of Enguerrand the fourth of Coucy. Enguerrand de Guines, who married Alice de Coucy, the daughter of a younger branch, revived it, by taking the name and the arms. The houſe of Guines was not leſs ancient and illuſtrious than that of Coucy.

‡ By the houſes of Chatillon, Neelle, Montmorency, Luxembourg, and laſtly by the houſe of Melun.

Anne de Melun, lady of Roſny, who married John IV. de Bethune, reckoned in her family, ſays Du Cheſne, as well on the ſide of her father, Hugo de Melun, viſcount de Gand, as on that of Jean de Horn her mother, more than ten princes of the blood-royal of France, and all the ſovereigns of Europe.

‖ John de Bethune, anceſtor in the ſeventh degree of the duke of Sully, had two ſons, Robert and John. Robert, by three marriages, left only daughters. John is the younger brother, of whom the author here ſpeaks; he was lord of Locres and Autreche. Matthew de Bethune, another anceſtor of the author's, had likewiſe three daughters, and no ſon.

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1571. gality and bad management of my grandfather *, who left nothing to his ſon my father, but the eſtate of Anne de Melun his wife, which it was not in his power to deprive him of.

As for what relates to me perſonally: at the time of which I have been ſpeaking, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December 1560. Although I was but the ſecond † of four ſons, yet the natural imperfections of my eldeſt brother ‡ made my father look upon me as the future head of his family; all the indications of a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution recommending me ſtill more to his favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the reformed religion, and I have continued conſtant in the profeſſion of it; neither threatenings, promiſes, variety of events, nor the change even of the king my protector, joined to his moſt tender ſolicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it.

Henry ‖ king of Navarre, who will have the

* John de Bethune, baron de Baye: he married Anne de Melun, daughter of Hugo de Melun, viſcount de Gand, and of Jean d'Horn; ſhe was heireſs of Roſny. After her death, he married Jean Du-Pré, a private gentlewoman. He ſold the lordſhips of Hautbois, d'Avraincourt, Novion, Caumartin, Baye, Bannay, Taluz, Loches, Villerenard, Châtillon, Broucy, &c. Du Cheſne, ibid.

† Francis de Bethune, baron de Roſny, &c. had ſix ſons, but the author does not reckon John and Charles, who died young. The four others are, Lewis, Maximilian, Solomon, and Philip de Bethune. He mentions each of them in another place.

‡ Lewis drowned himſelf at twenty years of age.

‖ "The houſe of Bourbon, "from Lewis IX. to Henry IV. "had been almoſt always ne-"glected; and to ſuch extreme "poverty was it reduced, that "the famous prince of Condé "brother to Antony king of Na-"varre, and uncle to Henry the "great, had no more than ſix "hundred livres a-year for his "patrimony." *Eſſay on the civil wars.*

Theſe words of the author of the Henriade might eaſily lead one into an error, if at the ſame time we were not warned of it by an hiſtorian better informed, who tells us, that the houſe of Bourbon was then in poſſeſſion of a revenue of more than eight hundred thouſand livres a-year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very conſiderable fortune. 'Tis certain, that this was all it poſſeſſed of the ancient eſtate of Bourbon, or even of the houſe of Moncade, the maternal ſtock; the eſtates of theſe two houſes, which came by very rich and illuſtrious alliances, being ali-

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principal ſhare in theſe memoirs, was ſeven years older than me, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year *. A countenance noble, open, and inſinuating, free, eaſy, and lively manners, with an uncommon dexterity in performing all the exerciſes ſuitable to his age, drew the eſteem and admiration of all that knew him. He began early to † diſcover thoſe great talents for war, which have ſo highly diſtinguiſhed him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable by the education of his infancy ‡, he 1571.

enated to purchaſe the viſcounty of Narbonne. Peter Matthieu's hiſtory of Henry IV. vol. II. p. 1 and 2. For theſe alliances, and the genealogy of the houſe of Bourbon, conſult alſo the New Chronology of Peter Victor Cayet. vol. I. book I. p. 237, and our other hiſtorians.

* He was born at Pau in Bearn, December 13th, 1553. Mr. de Perefixe relates ſome very curious particulars concerning his birth. "Henry d'Albert, his "grandfather, made his daughter "promiſe to ſing a ſong to him "while ſhe was in labour; in "order, ſaid he, that you may "bring me a child who will neither weep nor make wry faces. "The princeſs had fortitude enough, in the midſt of her "pains, to keep her word, and ſang "a ſong in Bearnois, her own "country language. As ſoon as "Henry entered the chamber, the "child came into the world without crying; his grandfather immediately carried him to his "own apartment, and there rubbed his little lips with a clove "of garlic, and made him ſuck "ſome wine out of a gold cup, "to make his conſtitution ſtrong "and vigorous." Perefixe's hiſtory of Henry the great, p. 1. Cayet, vol. I. book I. p. 241.

† "This young prince, when "he was only thirteen years of "age, had judgment enough to "obſerve faults in the conduct "of the prince of Condé, and the "admiral Coligny. It was his "opinion, and a very judicious "one, that at the great ſkirmiſh "at Loudun, if the duke of Anjou had had troops in readineſs "to attack them, he would have "done it: that he did not do it, "but choſe to retire, was a proof "of his being in a weak condition, and therefore they ought "to have attacked him; this "they neglected, and by that "means gave time for all his "troops to join him. At the "battle of Jarnac, he repreſented "to them with equal ſtrength of "judgment, that they had not a "favourable opportunity for fighting, becauſe the forces of the "princes were diſperſed, and "thoſe of the duke of Anjou all "joined: but they were too far "engaged to retire. At the battle "of Monçontour, when he was "but ſixteen years of age, he "cried out, We loſe our advantage, and conſequently the "battle." Perefixe, ibid.

‡ "He was brought up in the "caſtle of Coaraſſe in Bearn, ſituated amidſt rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albert, his "grandfather, would have him "cloathed and fed like other "children in that country. They "even accuſtomed him to run up

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1571. breathed nothing but labour, and ſeemed to wait with impatience for occaſions of acquiring glory. The crown of France not being yet the object of his aſpiring wiſhes, he indulged himſelf in forming ſchemes for the recovering that of Navarre, which

" and down the rocks. It is ſaid, " that his ordinary food was " brown bread, beef, cheeſe, and " garlic; and that they often " made him walk barefoot and " bareheaded." Perefixe, ibid.

While he was in the cradle, he was called prince of Viane. A little time after, they gave him the title of duke of Beaumont, and after that prince of Navarre. The queen of Navarre his mother took great care of his education, and appointed La Gaucherie, a very learned man, but a ſtrict Calviniſt, for his preceptor.

" While he was yet a child, he " was preſented to Henry II. who " aſked him if he would be his " ſon: he is my father, replied " the little prince in Bearnois, " pointing to the king of Navarre. " Well, ſaid the king, will you " be my ſon-in-law then? Oh, " with all my heart, anſwered the " prince. From that time his " marriage with the princeſs Mar- " garet was reſolved upon. At " Bayonne the duke of Medina, " looking at him earneſtly, ſaid, " this prince either will, or ought " to be an emperor." Cayet, vol. I. b. I. p. 240.

In the Memoirs of Nevers we meet with ſome letters written in 1567, by the principal magiſtrates of Bourdeaux, that contain ſeveral very intereſting particulars concerning the perſon and manners of young Henry. " We have here, " ſays one, the prince of Bearn; " it muſt be confeſs'd, that he " is a charming youth. At thir- " teen years of age he has all the " riper qualities of eighteen or " nineteen: he is agreeable, po- " lite, obliging, and behaves to " every one with an air ſo eaſy " and engaging, that wherever he " is, there is always a crowd. " He mixes in converſation like a " wiſe and prudent man, ſpeaks " always to the purpoſe, and " when it happens that the court " is the ſubject of diſcourſe, " 'tis eaſy to ſee that he is per- " fectly well acquainted with it, " and never ſays more nor leſs " than he ought, in whatever " place he is. I ſhall all my life " hate the new religion for having " robbed us of ſo worthy a ſub- " ject." And in another, " His " hair is a little red, yet the la- " dies think him not leſs agree- " able on that account: his face " is finely ſhaped, his noſe nei- " ther too large nor too ſmall, " his eyes full of ſweetneſs, his " ſkin brown but clear, and his " whole countenance animated " with an uncommon vivacity: " with all theſe graces, if he is " not well with the ladies, he is " extremely unfortunate." A- gain, " He loves diverſions and " the pleaſures of the table. " When he wants money, he has " the addreſs to procure it in a " manner quite new, and very " agreeable to others as well as " himſelf; to thoſe, whether men " or women, whom he thinks his " friends, he ſends a promiſſary " note, written and ſigned by " himſelf, and intreats them to " ſend him back the note, or the " ſum mentioned in it. Judge, " if there is a family that can " refuſe him: every one looks " upon it as an honour to have a " note from this prince," &c. Vol. II. p. 586.

Spain

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Spain had unjuſtly uſurped from his family; and this he thought he might be enabled to perform, by maintaining a ſecret intelligence with the Moors in Spain *. The enmity he bore to this power, was open and declared; it was born with him, and he never condeſcended to conceal it. He felt his courage enflamed at the relation of the † battle of Lepante, which was fought at that time; and a like opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf againſt the infidels became one of his moſt ardent wiſhes. The vaſt and flattering expectations which the aſtrologers agreed in making him conceive, were almoſt always preſent to his mind. He ſaw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX. early entertained for him, and which conſiderably increaſed a ſhort time before his death: but animated as he was with theſe happy preſages, he laboured to ſecond them only in ſecret, and never diſcloſed his thoughts to any perſon but a ſmall number of his moſt intimate confidents. 1571.

In order to form a juſt idea, either of the general ſtate of affairs in the government of France, or of thoſe of the young prince of Navarre, and what he might have to hope or fear in the times of which we are ſpeaking, 'tis neceſſary to give a ſummary relation of the different ſteps taken by the miniſtry, both before and after the death of the ‡ king

* My ewe, ſaid Henry d'Albert, has brought forth a lion. And added from a ſecret preſage, This child will revenge me on Spain for the injuries I have received from her. Peref. ibid.

† Gained this year againſt the Turks by Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to Charles the fifth. He was generaliſſimo of the Spaniſh and Venetian troops.

‡ Antony de Bourbon, huſband of Jane d'Albert queen of Navarre. He turned catholic. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we cannot do better than give in the words of the author of the Henriade. "Francis de Guiſe did deſign to aſſaſſinate him in the chamber of king Francis II. Antony de Navarre had a great deal of courage, though his judgment was weak; he was informed of the plot, yet went reſolutely into the chamber where it was to be executed. If they murder me, ſaid he to Reiſny, one of his gentlemen, take my bloody ſhirt, and carry it to my wife and ſon: that will teach them what they ought to

of

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1571. of Navarre his father, ſlain before Rouen. I ſhall go back, therefore, to the rupture that kindled the war between Henry II. and Philip II. of Spain. To which ſide ſoever it owed its riſe, the event was not ſo favourable to France, as convenient for the views of the two men who adviſed it. Theſe were the conſtable * de Montmorency, and the duke de Guiſe †, who hoped theſe troubles would furniſh them with the means of reciprocally ſupplanting each other. In this war there was ſufficient employment for both. The duke of Guiſe, at the head of a powerful army, paſſed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation. But the conſtable was ſtill more unſucceſsful: the moſt diſtinguiſhing poſt, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reſerved for himſelf, and loſt St. Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken priſoner. This defeat was followed by that of the marechal Thermes at Gravelines ‡.

The duke of Guiſe ſaw all his wiſhes compleated by theſe unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to be placed ſingly at the head of the council and armies, with which he acquired Calais to France. The conſtable in his priſon felt all the force of this blow; and being reſolved to go and

" do to revenge me. Francis the " ſecond durſt not ſtain himſelf " with this crime; and the duke " of Guiſe at leaving his chamber, " exclaimed, What a poor king " have we!"

* Anne, conſtable of Montmorency. He received a wound at the battle of St. Denis, October 10, 1567, of which he died.

† Claude de Lorrain, a ſtem of the houſe of Guiſe in France, had ſix ſons, Francis, duke of Guiſe; Charles, archbiſhop of Rheims, called cardinal of Lorrain; Claude, duke of Aumale; Lewis, cardinal of Guiſe; Francis, grand prior; and René, marquis d'Elbœuf. Francis the eldeſt, is he whom the author here mentions. He married Anne d'Eſt, and was murdered in 1563, with three poiſoned balls, by the hand of John Poltrot de Meri, a gentleman of Angoumois. Poltrot impeached the admiral, the count de la Rocheſoucault, and Theodore de Beze, as accomplices in his crime; but afterwards varying in his accuſations, the admiral was declared innocent. His titles were, duke of Guiſe and Aumale, prince of Joinville, knight of the order of the king, peer, grand maſter, grand chamberlain, and grand huntſman of France.

‡ Paul de la Berts, lord of Thermes, marechal of France.

defend

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defend his rights at any price, he treated of a peace with Spain. It was not indeed an honourable one for the king his master, but it released him from captivity. The death of king Henry II. entirely sunk his credit *. This prince was slain in the midst of the magnificent rejoicings on account of his daughter's marriage with the king of Spain, which was the seal of the peace. Francis II. who succeeded him, was young, weak, and infirm: he had married the niece † of the duke of Guise, and that nobleman became in his turn the sole governor of the king and kingdom. The protestants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy. He was busied in forming vast projects, and meditating the strangest catastrophes in France, when he himself experienced the vicissitudes of fortune. A sudden death, occasioned by a pain in his ear ‡, deprived him of Francis II. The reign of Charles IX. his brother, yet an infant, was singular in this, that the authority seemed to be equally divided amongst the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the constable, and the duke of Guise. Each of them in secret supported a party of his own. The good destiny of the duke of Guise placed him a second time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union she even founded the principal part of her politics; and it is pretended the hatred she began to shew towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great share in it: this aversion arose from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an astrologer, that none of the princes her sons should have issue, in which case the crown must pass to a 1571.

* Struck in the eye with a splinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran against the count de Montgomery, July 10, 1559.

† Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. king of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorrain, of the house of Guise,

‡ The abscess that he had in this part turning to a mortification, he died the 5th of December, 1560. No more was needful to raise a suspicion of his being poisoned.

branch

1571. branch of the house of Bourbon. She could not resolve to see it go out of her family, and therefore destined it to the posterity of her * daughter, who was married to the duke of Lorrain. Whatever there may be in this predilection of the queen-mother †, it is certain she gave birth to two parties in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confusion, horror, and the most dreadful calamities.

This dreadful tempest seemed solely formed to burst upon the head of the young prince of Navarre. The ‡ king of Navarre, his father, was just then dead: his death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of seven years of age, and the mark at which all the blows of the new council were aimed, who acted in concert with the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and all the catholics of Europe. In effect, this party experienced the most cruel reverses of fortune; yet, by the wise conduct of its chiefs, and the early talents of young Henry, it supported itself with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period these Memoirs commence.

Prince Henry made use of the quiet that was given him, to visit his estates, and his government of Guyenne; after which he came and settled in

* Claude of France, the second of three daughters, which Catherine de Medicis had by her marriage with Henry II. She married the duke of Lorrain, and had children by him.

† M. L'Abbé le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, assigns another reason for queen Catherine's hatred to the king of Navarre: He declares he read in these memoirs, that this prince and the duke d'Alençon being prisoners together, they plotted to strangle the queen mother with their own hands, when she came into their chamber. This design was not executed through the horror they themselves felt at the fact; and the king of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the secret, Catherine de Medicis was to the last degree enraged against him.

‡ The author is mistaken in placing the death of Antony king of Navarre in 1560; it did not happen till 1562, by a wound he received at the siege of Rouen. See his character and eulogium in the Memoirs of Brantome, vol. iii. p. 242.

Rochelle,

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Rochelle, with the queen of Navarre his mother, the admiral de Coligny *, and the principal chiefs of the proteſtant party, to whom this important city, far diſtant from the court, ſeemed moſt advantageous for the intereſt of their religion. A very wiſe reſolution, had they been capable of adhering to it conſtantly. 1571.

Queen Catherine diſſembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and during the whole year 1571, ſpoke only of faithfully obſerving the treaties, of entering into a cloſer correſpondence with the proteſtants, and carefully preventing all occaſions of rekindling the war. This was the pretence of the marechal de Coſſé's deputation, whom ſhe ſent to Rochelle with Malaſſize and La Proûtiere †, maſters of requeſts, her creatures and confidants; but the true motive was to obſerve all the ſteps of the calviniſts, to ſound their inclinations, and draw them inſenſibly to an entire confidence in her, which was abſolutely neceſſary to her deſigns; and ſhe forgot nothing on her ſide that was capable of inſpiring it. The marechal de Montmorency ‡ was ſent to Rouen with the preſident de Morſan ‖, to do juſtice there for the outrages committed againſt the hugenots; any infringements of the treaty of peace were ſeverely puniſhed; and king Charles uſually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occaſions artfully inſinuate, that he conſented to this peace, in order to ſupport the princes of his blood againſt the too great authority of the Guiſes, whom he accuſed of conſpiring with Spain to throw the kingdom into confuſion **.

* Gaſpard de Coligny, lord of Chatillon-ſur-Loing, admiral of France.

† Philip Gourau de la Proûtiere.

‡ Francis de Montmorency, eldeſt ſon of Anne, Conſtable of Montmorency, died in 1579.

‖ Bernard Prevot, lord of Morſan.

** Charles IX. had a natural averſion to the duke of Guiſe. He was ſo offended at his having demanded the princeſs Margaret his ſiſter in marriage, that ſpeaking on this ſubject one day to the grand prior of France, natural ſon of Henry II. he ſaid, ſhewing him two ſwords, "Of theſe two

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1571. These noblemen seemed daily to decrease in favour; and their complaints, whether true or false, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the least difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgueil, to confer with the protestants, who for their deputies had named * Téligny, son-in-law to the admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la-Nocle, and Cavagne; and these four deputies, when they went afterwards to Paris, were loaded with presents and civilities.

The marechal de Cossé did not fail to give weight to these appearances of sincerity: having by that means insinuated himself, he began to confer in earnest with the queen of Navarre on the scheme of marrying the prince her son to the princess Margaret, sister to the king of France; and was commissioned by Charles to promise a portion of four hundred thousand crowns. For the † prince of Condé, he proposed the third heiress of Cleves, a very considerable match; and the ‡ countess

"swords that thou seest, there is "one of them to kill thee, if to-"morrow at the chace thou dost "not kill the duke of Guise with "the other." These words were repeated afterwards to the duke of Guise, who quitted his pursuit. F. Matthieu, book vi. p. 333. The same historian adds, that Charles IX. pursued the duke of Guise one day with a javelin in his hand, and struck it forcibly into a door, at the same moment that the duke came out of it, for having, in playing, touched him with a file. Ibid. p. 376.

* Charles, lord of Téligny in Rouergue, Montreüil, &c. married to Louisa de Coligny. He had something so sweet and amiable in his countenance, that at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, those persons who were first sent to assassinate him, stopt as in suspence, and had not resolution enough to strike the blow. Francis Briquemaut. John de Lasin, called Beauvais-la-Nocle, to distinguish him from Philip de Lasin his eldest brother. The author wrote Tayannes, but we must read Cavagne. Arnaud de Cavagne was a counsellor of the parliament of Toulouse.

† Henry the first, prince of Condé: Mary of Cleves, marchioness d'Isle, related to the Guises, and brought up in the court of the queen of Navarre. She had no children by her husband, who afterwards married Charlotte Catherine de la Trimouille.

‡ Jaqueline de Montbel, only daughter of Sebastian, count of Entremont, widow of Claud Batarnai, lord of Anton, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis. The duke of Savoy detained her some time in his dominions, but she escaped, and came to Rochelle to marry the admiral. His first wife was Charlotte de Laval.

d'Entremont

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d'Entremont for the admiral de Coligny, whom he rightly judged would be more difficult than all the others to be perſuaded: to this laſt article, therefore, he added a nuptial preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns, which the king engaged to give the admiral, together with all the benefices his brother the cardinal had enjoyed *. The marechal de Biron ‡ was ſent to confirm theſe ſhining offers, and entirely gained the queen of Navarre, by feigning to impart to her in confidence the ſuſpicions which were entertained at court, that Philip II. king of Spain had poiſoned the queen his wife, Elizabeth of France ‖, who had been falſly accuſed of an intrigue with the infant Don Carlos. At the ſame time he told her, under an injunction of ſecrecy, that the court being reſolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the reſtitution of which would be demanded from the king of Spain, as 1571.

* Odet de Chaſtillon, cardinal biſhop of Bauvais, abbot of St. Benoit ſur Loire, &c. He was made a cardinal at ſixteen years of age; and although he was degraded from this dignity by pope Pius the fourth, he was publicly married in the habit of a cardinal to Elizabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of counteſs of Bauvais, and as ſuch ſhe took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was accuſed of high treaſon before the parliament of Paris. He died in the beginning of the year 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he was ſent during the war, to ſupport the intereſts of the calviniſts with queen Elizabeth; and after the peace he was commiſſioned by the king to treat of a marriage between this princeſs and the duke of Alençon. 'Tis certain, tho' D'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poiſoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to return to France, being recalled by the admiral his brother. Thuanus, lib. 50.

D'Aubigny adds, that the admiral was in reality put into poſſeſſion of great part of theſe benefices, and enjoyed them during the ſpace of a year; and that Charles the ninth gave him alſo a hundred thouſand francs, to purchaſe furniture for his houſe of Chaſtillon. D'Aubigny's hiſtory, vol. II. book i. chap. i.

‡ Armand de Gontault de Biron, marechal of France.

‖ Eldeſt daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. Moſt of the French hiſtorians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, that the phyſicians, not knowing that ſhe was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1568.

Don Carlos, prince of Spain, whom Philip II. his father alſo put to a violent death.

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1571. being antient fiefs of the crown, like that of Navarre; and that they would commence hoſtilities by ſuccouring Mons, which the prince of Orange * had juſt taken from the Spaniards.

To compleat all, he added, that the king had fixed upon the admiral to command his army, with the title of viceroy of the Low Countries; and he was actually at that time permitted to nominate the general officers that were to ſerve under him, as a little while before he had done the commiſſioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low Countries ſpread ſo far, that it is certain, the grand ſeignor offered the king of France his gallies and troops to make a diverſion, and to facilitate the conqueſt. With regard to the queen of England, nothing was omitted that was neceſſary to be done on this occaſion. Montmorency was ſent ambaſſador thither, with inſtructions to uſe every method, by which he might gain this princeſs, and prevail upon her to chuſe one of the king's brothers for a huſband. A marriage, which, they ſaid, would alike ſtrengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers.

This conduct, ſo full of ſeeming frankneſs, might have been ſuſpected by its exceſs; yet it had the deſigned effect, and the diſcourſe of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The deſire of breathing the air of a gay and magnificent court, and of enjoying the honours that were prepared for them, ſerved more than any thing elſe to baniſh their ſcruples. † Beauvais, Bourſaut, and Francourt, were the firſt who ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, and they made a point of it afterwards to perſuade others. Some hints for a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; theſe three perſons ſtrongly ſupported that

* William of Naſſau, prince of Orange.

† —— Beauvais, governor to the prince of Navarre. Gervais Barbier, lord of Francourt, chancellor to the king of Navarre.

deſign,

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design, and represented to the queen of Navarre, that if she refused to go upon this occasion, she would not only give offence to the king, but lose all the advantage of this favourable situation of her affairs. At first she doubted, and continued irresolute during some months, but yielding about the end of the year 1571, preparations for the journey were made the beginning of 1572, and the time of their departure fixed the month of May following. 1571.

The huguenots, one would imagine, affected to close their eyes, that they might not see a thousand circumstances, sufficient to make the sincerity of such great promises suspected. The king and queen could not so well dissemble, but that they suffered their real sentiments to be sometimes guessed at. It was known, that Charles had one day said to Catherine, "Do I not play my part well?" To which she answered, "Very well, my son, but "you must hold out to the end." Something also had taken air, relating to the result of the conferences held at Bayonne *, between the courts of France and Spain. The king of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne: Bourdeaux had shut its gates against him; and the marquis de Villars †, who commanded the royal army there, would neither draw off his

* In 1564, the queen-mother, after having travelled through great part of the kingdom, advanced almost to Bayonne, where she had many private conferences with the duke d'Albe, who had attended the queen of Spain thither. There were appearances sufficient to make it probable, that the subject of these conferences was an alliance between the pope, France, and the house of Austria, and the means by which they should extirpate the protestant party: but there is no certainty that the design of the massacre of Bartholomew, which was not executed till several years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the prince of Navarre being then a child, and almost continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard something of the plot to exterminate all the heads of the protestant party: He gave notice of it to the queen his mother, and she to the prince of Condé and the admiral, and the rage this inspired them with, carried them to the enterprize at Meaux. Hist. of France, vol. I. p. 283.

† Honorat, a bastard of Savoy, marquis of Villars.

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1571. troops, nor permit them to receive orders from the prince. In Rochelle, they were not ignorant that the king had actually a naval force over all the coaſt, which they ſuppoſed had been deſtined for Holland. The citizens had moreover diſcovered the artifices which Strozzy *, La Garde, Lanſac, and Landereau, had made uſe of to gain the cuſtody of their gates, and to ſeize their city. In fine, while they boaſted of their exactneſs in maintaining the treaty of peace in its fulleſt extent, it was but too plain, that a great number of injuries were offered to the proteſtants, which the court either authoriſed, or diſſembled the knowledge of. The chancellor de l'Hopital † being inclined to puniſh the aggreſſors at Rouen, Dieppe, Orange, &c. this was the cauſe, together with his refuſing to ſeal the revocation of an edict of pacification, that he was baniſhed from court. Without all theſe inſtances of treachery, the huguenots, one would imagine, were ſufficiently warned by the knowledge they had of Catherine's temper, as well as that of her ſon. Could they flatter themſelves that this prince, naturally furious, and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux ‡, the invaſion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lion, &c. Havre given up by the huguenots to the Engliſh, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, ſo many battles fought, ſo much blood ſhed? Reaſons of ſtate, that phraſe ſo familiar with ſovereigns,

* Philip Strozzy: the baron de la Garde, called captain Polin: Lanſac the younger, brother of Lewis de Luſignan of St. Gelais, lord of Lanſac: and Charles Rouhault, lord of Landereau, who commanded this fleet.

† Michael de l'Hopital, chancellor of France. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to John de Morvilliers. He died in 1573.

‡ In the year 1567, the prince of Condé, and the admiral de Coligny, formed the deſign of ſeizing Charles the IX. at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the queen-mother made him ſet out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This deſign would have been executed, but for the ſeaſonable arrival of three thouſand Swiſs, who covered the king in his march, and the calviniſts durſt not attack him. See the hiſtorians.

that

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that under the diſguiſe of policy they may ſatisfy their perſonal reſentment, and other paſſions, will ſcarce permit them to ſuffer their ſubjects to engage in ſuch enterprizes with impunity. Catherine, to that time, had always perſiſted to impute the death of her huſband to them, which ſhe could never pardon, no more than their having treated the whole family of Medicis like the enemies of Chriſt. Nor was there leſs imprudence in truſting the Pariſians, whoſe animoſity and fury againſt the huguenots had broke out again, in the affair of the croſs of Gatine *. From all this, my father conceived ſuch ſtrong apprehenſions, that when the report of the court of Navarre's journey to Paris firſt reached him, he could not give credit to it. Firmly perſuaded, that the preſent calm would be of ſhort continuance, he made haſte to take advantage of it, in order to ſhut himſelf up immediately with all his effects in Rochelle, when every one elſe talked of nothing but leaving it. The queen of Navarre herſelf informed him more particularly of this deſign ſoon after, and requeſted him to join her in her way to Vendome. My father prepared to go; and being deſirous of tak- 1572.

* The following is the fact, as it is related by M. de Thou, Book L. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St. Denis ſtreet, having ſome years before been convicted of lending his houſe to the huguenots, to ſerve them for a church, he was, by the parliament of Paris, condemned to be hanged or burnt the 30th of July. His houſe was demoliſhed, and in its place a pillar was erected, in the form of a croſs, which was afterwards called the croſs of Gatine. With the edict of pacification, paſſed in the year 1570, the calviniſts obtained, that this croſs ſhould be thrown down, which after ſome delay was at laſt executed; but it occaſioned ſuch violent tumults amongſt the populace, that the council was obliged to ſend ſome troops thither, under the command of the duke de Montmorency. Felibien, in the ſecond volume of his hiſtory of the city of Paris, ſays, that this croſs was replaced at the entry of the church-yard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away; and it is ſtill to be ſeen there. Sauval, vol. II. book viii. of the Antiquities of Paris, mentions the place where this houſe ſtood, in the ſtreet of St. Denis, over-againſt the ſtreet of the Lombards, where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which poſſibly might be the foundation of Gatine's houſe.

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1572. ing me with him, he ordered me, some days before his departure, to attend him in his chamber, and no one being present but La Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus spoke to me: "Maximilian, "since custom does not permit me to make you "the principal heir of my estates, to balance this "disadvantage, I will endeavour to enrich you "with virtues; by means of which, I hope, as "hath been predicted to me, you will one day "distinguish yourself. Prepare, therefore, to support with fortitude whatever difficulties you may "meet with in the world, and by nobly surmounting them, procure the esteem of all good "men, particularly that of the master to whom "I am desirous of giving you, and in whose service I recommend to you to live and die. I "am going to Vendome, to meet the queen of "Navarre, and the prince her son; dispose yourself to accompany me, and when I present you "to him offer him your service; and, that you "may express yourself gracefully, study a little "speech for that purpose." Accordingly, I attended him to Vendome *. He found there a general security, and an air of satisfaction on every face, which in public he durst not object to; but whenever he had an opportunity of conversing in private, either with the queen, the prince, the admiral, the counts Ludovic † and Rochefoucaut, and the other protestant lords, he very freely told them, he was surprized they had so soon forgot the many occasions that had been given them for well-grounded apprehensions; that from a reconciled enemy, excessive promises and civilities were

* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken prisoner. An indictment of high treason was made out against him, for having borne arms against his majesty, and his estates were seized, but were restored to him at the peace. Du Chesne.

† Or Lewis of Nassau, brother to William prince of Orange. Francis, count of Rochefoucaut, and prince of Marsillac, slain in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

no

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no leſs ſuſpicious, and much more dangerous, than open menaces and declared hatred: that it was [redacted]ding ſtill more, to expoſe a young prince, too little guarded againſt the allurements of pleaſure, to the attractions of the moſt voluptuous court in the world. He repreſented to them, that inſtead of dreaming of an alliance ſo unhappy as that muſt neceſſarily be, between this prince and a princeſs who profeſſed a different religion, they ought rather to have endeavoured to marry him to the queen of England, who might have aſſiſted him in his attempts to recover the crown of Navarre, and poſſibly, as occaſi. ns offered, that of France likewiſe. He had ſo ſtrong a foreboding of the fatal conſequences of this French match, that he often ſaid, if the nuptials were celebrated at Paris, the bridal favours would be crimſon. This prudent advice was looked upon to be the effect of weakneſs and timidity. My father, not willing to appear wiſer than ſo many perſons of more diſtinguiſhed underſtandings, ſuffered himſelf, contrary to his opinion, to be driven with the torrent, and only demanded time to put himſelf into a condition of appearing with that ſplendor his rank required, in a court where every thing was magnificent. For this purpoſe, he again took the road to Roſny; but before he went, he preſented me to the prince of Navarre, in the preſence of the queen his mother, and, in my name, gave him aſſurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with great boldneſs, putting one knee to the ground. The prince raiſed me immediately, and after twice embracing me, had the goodneſs to commend the zeal which my family had always diſcovered for him, and, with that engaging air ſo natural to him, promiſed me his protection; a promiſe I at that time regarded as a mere effect of his complaiſance, but which I have ſince ſeen accompliſhed far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return with my father to Roſny, but went 1572.

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1572. to Paris in the queen of Navarre's train. As soon as I arrived, sensible of the necessity my youth had of instruction, I applied myself closely to my studies, without neglecting, however, to make my court to the prince my master. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a distance from the court, in a quarter of Paris, where almost all the colleges stood, and continued there till the bloody catastrophe, which happened a short time after.

Nothing could be more kind than the reception the queen of Navarre, her children, and principal servants met with from the king, and queen-mother, nor more obliging than their treatment of them; Charles IX. was continually praising the virtues and good qualities of the count de Rochefoucaut, de Teligny, Resnel *, Beaudisner, Piles, Pluviaut, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other protestant lords. The admiral he always called father, and took upon himself the care of reconciling him with the princes of the house of Guise To him also he granted the pardon of Villandry †, which he had denied to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought too great for forgiveness. When the admiral was wounded, the king, at the first news he heard of it, broke into oaths and threatenings; and declared, that the assassin ‡ should be sought for in the most

* Antony de Clermont, marquis of Resnel; Galiot de Crussol, lord of Beaudisner, brother to the duke d'Uzès; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, in Perigord; N.— de Rochefort, lord of Pluviaut Claveau, a gentleman of Poitevin; Francis de Bricqueville de Colombieres; Antony de Grammont, viscount d'Aster; John de Durefort, viscount Duras; Bayancort, lord of Bouchavannes; Nicholas Rouhaut, lord of Gamache.

† Villandry being one day at play with the king, was so rash as to commit some offence against majesty itself, for which he was sentenced to be put to death. Davila, book v. See d'Aubigné, who relates this fact more particularly, vol. II. book i. ch. 2.

‡ He was called Nicholas de Louviers, lord of Maurevert in Brie, "Must I," said Charles IX. throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetually troubled "with new broils; shall I never "have any quiet?" Many per-

secret

ſecret receſſes of the palaces of the Guiſes. He made all the court, after his example, viſit the wounded perſon; and when the Guiſes came to intreat that he would condeſcend to hear their 1572.

ſons have doubted, whether theſe threatenings of Charles, and his violent tranſports of rage, were not ſincere; and whether this prince, who had at firſt entered into all the deſigns of the queen his mother, did not ſuffer himſelf at laſt to be gained by the admiral de Coligny, in thoſe private converſations they had together, in which the admiral never ceaſed to repreſent to him the fatal conſequences of this princeſs's bad government, and to exhort him to ſhake off his dependance on her. Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, vol. II. p. 55, and 66, and many other writers of thoſe times, produce ſuch ſtrong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon the queſtion. If the Memoirs of Tavannes may be relied on, Charles IX. and his mother agreed ſo ill, that this princeſs ſaw no other means of preſerving her authority, which ſhe was upon the point of loſing, than by cauſing the admiral to be aſſaſſinated; and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was ſuborned, unknown to the king, to ſtrike the blow. On the other ſide, the hiſtorian Matthieu believes he has ſufficient reaſon to maintain, vol. I. book vi. that Charles IX. deceived the admiral from firſt to laſt. He relates, that this prince obſerving the oppoſition ſome of his counſellors gave to the deſign of extirpating the huguenots, repreſented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was loſt if their plot was not executed that ſame night, for a longer delay would put it out of their power to prevent the ſchemes the huguenots were forming; who, he told them, were well acquainted with their deſign. He added, that thoſe who did not approve of his reſolution, would never be conſidered by him as his ſervants.

But this hiſtorian does not perceive that a few pages after, he himſelf leſſens the weight of theſe proofs, by relating a converſation that paſſed between Henry III. and his phyſician Miron, in Poland; of which the following is an abridgment, for it is too long to be inſerted here at length. Henry III. then duke of Anjou, going, ſome days before the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, into the chamber of the king his brother, obſerved, that this prince looked upon him with eyes ſo full of rage, and ſuch indications of fury in his air, that, apprehending the conſequence of theſe violent emotions, he ſoftly regained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the queen-mother. She, from what had happened to herſelf, being but too much diſpoſed to believe it, reſolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, ſince he only wounded the admiral in the arm, the queen-mother and the duke of Anjou, finding they could not hinder the king from viſiting him, thought it neceſſary to accompany him, and, under pretence of ſparing the admiral's ſtrength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private converſation they held together. During this viſit, Catherine, who was ſurrounded with calviniſts, obſerved, that they frequently whiſpered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very ſuſpicious eyes. This adventure, ſhe acknowledged, was the moſt dangerous of all ſhe had ever been engaged in. As they returned, ſhe preſſed the king ſo vehemently to tell her the ſubject of his private

juſtification,

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1572. juſtification, he gave them a very unfavourable reception. The Spaniſh embaſſador was on this occaſion ſo ill treated, that he thought fit to withdraw: nor could pope Pius V. eſcape the reſentment of Charles, he having refuſed to give the neceſſary diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with the princeſs Margaret, for which the moſt magnificent preparations were then making. The king car-

diſcourſe with the admiral, that this prince could not hinder himſelf from betraying it, by telling her, with his uſual oath, that ſhe ſpoiled all his affairs, or ſome words to that purpoſe. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourſe to an artifice that ſucceeded. She told her ſon, that he was ready to fall into the ſnare the admiral had prepared for him; that he was upon the point of being delivered up to the huguenots, combined with foreigners; and had nothing to hope for from his catholic ſubjects, who, through diſguſt at finding themſelves betrayed, had choſen another leader. All the other counſellors, excepting only the marechal de Retz, ſeconded her arguments ſo ſtrongly, that Charles himſelf being ſeized with fear, and paſſing from one extreme to the other, was the firſt to reſolve, and even preſs, not only the murder of the admiral, but of all the huguenots; to the end, ſaid he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the reſt of that day and the following night, they conſulted upon the means of executing this deſign. At break of day, Charles, the queen-mother, and the duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and hearing a piſtol go off, fear and remorſe ſeized them. The king ſent orders to the duke of Guiſe to proceed no further. To which the duke replied, his orders had come too late: and they recovering from their conſternation, joined in every thing that was afterwards performed.

'Tis poſſible, I think, to reconcile theſe different opinions, and preſerve to the proofs alledged on each part all their force, by ſaying, that Charles IX. who certainly invited the admiral to Paris with no other view than to have him murdered with the reſt of the huguenots, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhaken by his arguments; and that he embraced alternately propoſitions from each of the contending parties; and from their different reaſons, was thrown into a ſtate of irreſolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuoſity of his diſpoſition, which Catherine well knew how to take advantage of. Coligny's ſecurity proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince; otherwiſe, it would not have been poſſible for Charles to have ſo long impoſed upon a man of the admiral's great prudence and ſagacity. A young king of three and twenty years of age, who till then had been almoſt always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaiſance to attribute to him: however, it muſt be confeſſed, that this young prince already carried diſſimulation to its utmoſt height, of which his having never diſcovered the ſecrets of his council, or thoſe of the admiral to each other, although ſtrongly preſſed to it, is an inconteſtable proof.

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ried his reſpect for this prince ſo far, as to diſ- 1572.
penſe with his going into the church of Notre-dame *, and even with obſerving any of the romiſh ceremonies. The cardinal de Bourbon † making ſome remonſtrances upon theſe tolerations, which to him ſeemed to exceed all bounds, was diſmiſſed with a ſevere reprimand: and when the queen of Navarre died, the whole court appeared ſenſibly affected, and went into deep mourning. In a word, it is not paſſing too harſh a cenſure upon this conduct of Catherine and her ſon, to call it an almoſt incredible prodigy of diſſimulation; ſince a man of the admiral de Coligny's great wiſdom fell into the ſnare, notwithſtanding a thouſand circumſtances concurred to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was loudly ſaid, that Genlis and La Noüe ‡, who had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the prince of Orange, were defeated with the connivance of the

* "The king, ſays le Grain, "was reſolved that the marriage "ſhould not be celebrated in a "manner wholly conformable to "either religion. Not to the cal-"viniſt, becauſe the vows were to "be received by a prieſt, who "was to be the cardinal of Bour-"bon; nor to the romiſh, be-"cauſe theſe vows were to be "received without the ſacramental "ceremonies of the church.

"A great ſcaffold was erected "in the court before the principal "gate and entry of the church of "Paris, on Monday Auguſt the "18th, 1572, upon which were "betrothed and married on the "ſame day, and by a ſingle act, "The moſt high, &c. This done, "the bridegroom retired to meet-"ing to hear a ſermon, and the "bride went into the church to "hear maſs, according to the ar-"ticles of the treaty of marriage; "after which, they both came to the "entertainment prepared for them "in the great hall of the palace," &c. B. le Grain, Dec. of Henry the great, book ii.

Charles the ninth gave his ſiſter three hundred thouſand crowns for a portion; and the queen of Navarre yielded the Upper and Low Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her ſon at his marriage. F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi.

† Charles de Bourbon, cardinal, uncle to Henry IV.

‡ John d'Angeſt d'Ivoy, of the ancient houſe of Genlis. Francis de la Noüe, a gentleman of the greateſt reputation in the proteſtant party, and eſteemed even by the catholics themſelves. The admiral ſpeaking of this misfortune to Charles the ninth, attributed it to the ſecret being but ill kept in the council. Charles demanded of the duke of Alba, by Claude Mondoucet his reſident in the Low Countries, the French proteſtant gentlemen, who had been taken priſoners. De Thou, anno 1572, book li.

French

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1572. French court; which, whilſt uncertain of ſucceſs in the principal object of its diſſimulation, was not willing to hazard all the conſequences which that diſſimulation might produce.

They were alſo informed of the conferences which the queen-mother, and the principal miniſters, held with cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of pope Pius V. and with the Guiſes; who were twice diſcovered converſing in maſques with the king, the queen-mother, the duke de Retz *, and the chancellor de Birague †: this was ſufficient to ſhew what they ought to think of their pretended diſgrace. In the death of the queen of Navarre ‡, they perceived plain indications of poiſon. It never was doubted, but that the wound the admiral received came from the houſe of Villemur, preceptor to the Guiſes; and the aſſaſſin was met in his flight, upon a horſe belonging to the king's

* Albert de Gondy, duke of Retz, marechal of France.

† René de Birague, a Milaneſe, biſhop of Lavaur, afterwards cardinal. He was at that time only keeper of the ſeals, and was not made chancellor till the following year, after the death of the chancellor de L'Hopital. See his eulogium in the Negotiations of Buſbeg. Aug. Giſt. Buſbequii Epiſ. 29. Of him it was ſaid, that he was cardinal without a title, chancellor without ſeals, and prieſt without a benefice.

‡ Her lodgings were in the palace of Charles Gaillart, biſhop of Chartres, a man violently ſuſpected of calviniſm. Soon after her return from Blois, whether ſhe had followed the court, ſhe was ſeized with a fever, and died on the fifth day of her illneſs. Many different opinions prevailed concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs of L'Etoile, D'Aubigné, and all the calviniſts, attribute it to poiſon, which they ſay was given her in a pair of gloves by a Florentine, named René, perfumer to the queen-mother. De Serres, in his Memoirs, gives us to underſtand, that the phyſicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was ſuppoſed to be affected by the poiſon: but they are all contradicted by Le Grain, and ſeveral others, who maintain, that ſhe died of a pleuriſy, occaſioned by her being overheated in making preparations for the nuptials of her ſon: to which was added, the vexation ſhe conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy ſacrament as it paſſed before her houſe, on Corpus Chriſti day. La Popeliniere, Perefixe, and De Thou, endeavour to remove all ſuſpicions of poiſon. The laſt mentioned aſſures us, that Charles IX. ordered the head of this princeſs to be opened, as well as the reſt of her body; and if the phyſicians did not do it, it was becauſe they found the true cauſe of her death in an abſceſs ſhe had in her body. This is alſo the opinion of Matthieu the hiſtorian.

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ſtable. Even the guards that Charles * (under the pretence of ſecuring the admiral's perſon from the like attempts) placed about him, were almoſt all his declared enemies; nor was it leſs certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furniſhed with arms, which by the king's order they kept in their houſes. 1572.

The moſt clear-ſighted amongſt the huguenots, yielding to proofs ſo convincing, quitted the court, and Paris itſelf, or at leaſt lodged in the ſuburbs. Of this number were Meſſ. de Langoiran †, de

* This is all true, and proves that the queen-mother, and not the king, was the deſigner of this ſtratagem. 'Tis hard to ſay, what was her real intention by this ſtroke; whether ſhe ſought to get rid of a man who poſſeſſed too much power over the king's mind, and was capable of ruining her deſign of extirpating all the huguenots; or whether, if the admiral had died of this wound, ſhe would have confined her vengeance to his ſingle death: or laſtly, whether ſhe expected the noiſe of this aſſaſſination would excite the calviniſts in Paris to revolt, and by that means furniſh her with the occaſion ſhe wanted to fall upon them, for which her party was already prepared. In the council, many expedients to give a pretence for attacking them were propoſed; amongſt others, the aſſault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned ſlaughter into a real one againſt the huguenots; at laſt, they reſolved to put them all to the ſword in the night.

The admiral lodged in the ſtreet Betiſy in an inn, which is called at preſent the Hotel S. Piere. The chamber where he was murdered is ſtill ſhewn there.

† N—— De Montferrand, baron of Langoiran. John de Rohan, lord of Frontenay. John de Ferrieres, viſcount of Chartres, N—— de Loncaunay, a gentleman of Normandy, ſlain at the battle of Yvry, at ſeventy years of age. N—— de Rabodanges. In the manuſcripts in the king's library, N° 8669. p. 31, may be ſeen the original of a letter of Charles the eleventh to M. de Rabodanges, dated from St. Maur, May 6, 1566, which begins thus, "Monſieur de "Rabodanges, I know with what "fidelity you have acted on oc-"caſion of the commiſſion which "I delivered you ſome time ago, "to puniſh the vagabonds and "robbers of your country."

N—— de Segur de Pardaillan. N— Du Touchet, a gentleman of Normandy, near Domfront. N— Des Hayes Gaſque. Guy de Luſignan of St. Gelais, ſon to Lewis, lord of Lanſac. Peter de Chouppes. John de la Fin, lord of Beauvais la Nocle. Peter de Grandrie, ſteward in ordinary of the king's houſhold, &c. All theſe perſons earneſtly preſſed the admiral to leave Paris: "By doing ſo," he replied, "I muſt ſhew either "fear or diſtruſt. My honour "would be injured by the one, by "the other the king. I ſhould be "again obliged to have recourſe "to a civil war; and I would "rather die than ſee again the "miſeries I have ſeen, and ſuffer "the diſtreſs I have already ſuf-"fered." Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. 343.

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1572. Frontenay, the viſcount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, Du-Breüil, de Segur, de Say, Du-Touchet, Des-Hayes, de Saint-Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de Saint Eſtienne, d'Arnes, de Boiſec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou. Happily my father was one of thoſe, whoſe life was preſerved by a wiſe and prudent diſtruſt. When he was preſſed to come nearer the court, he replied, that he found the air of the ſuburbs agreed better with his conſtitution, and that of the fields was ſtill more advantageous for it. When they were informed that the biſhop of Valence *, in taking leave of the king for his ambaſſy to Poland, had penetrated into the ſecret, and been indiſcreet enough to reveal it to ſome of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters ſent to Rome by the cardinal de Pellevé †, in which he unfolded the whole myſtery to the cardinal de Lorrain; it was then that theſe gentlemen renewed their intreaties to the king of Navarre, that he would either leave Paris, or permit them to retire to their own houſes. To this advice the prince oppoſed that which had been given him by a great many other perſons, and ſome even of the proteſtant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be cautious, they told him the names of all thoſe who had been gained by the queen-mother to deceive him. He liſtened to nothing. The admiral ‡ appeared no leſs incredulous: his bad deſtiny began by blinding him to lead him to his

* Jean de Montluc, biſhop of Valence.

† Nicholas de Pellevé, cardinal, archbiſhop of Rheims, paſſionately devoted to the league. Charles, cardinal of Lorrain.

‡ It has been ſaid, that all the great actions which the admiral Coligny performed in his life, were againſt his God, his religion, his country, and his king; how much is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more uſefully! All the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, he was the moſt conſummate politician, and greateſt warrior that ever appeared. 'Tis thought that it was in conſequence of the advice he gave to the prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled againſt Spain, maintained the war during ten years, and

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ruin. It would have been happy, if he had acted with the ſame prudence that marechal de Montmorency did; who could never be drawn from Chantilly, notwithſtanding repeated invitations from the king, who preſt him to come and partake his favour with the admiral, and be near his perſon, to aſſiſt him with his advice. 1572.

If I was inclined to increaſe the general horror, inſpired by an action * ſo barbarous as that per-

formed the plan of a republic, which in part has ſucceeded. It is alſo believed, and not without probability, that he would have made a like attempt in France. In Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 322, 340. he is accuſed with great violence, but he always ſteadily denied, particularly in his laſt will, his ever having any intention of attempting the perſon of the king. See his elogium, and political deſigns in Brantome, vol. III. De Thou, and the other hiſtorians.

* What M. de Sully ſays of the maſſacre ought not to be thought too ſevere: "An execrable action," cries Perefixe, "that never "had, and I truſt God never will "have, its like." Pope Pius V. was ſo much afflicted at it, that he ſhed tears; but Gregory XIII. who ſucceeded him, ordered a public thankſgiving to God for this maſſacre to be offered at Rome, and ſent a legate to congratulate Charles IX. and to exhort him to continue it. The following is a ſhort account of the maſſacre: All the neceſſary meaſures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the ſignal for beginning the ſlaughter. The admiral de Coligny was firſt murdered, in the midſt of his ſervants, by Beſmes, a French gentleman, and a domeſtic of the duke of Guiſe; the duke himſelf, and the chevalier de Guiſe ſtaying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and carried it to the queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, 'tis ſaid, they found the memoirs of his own times, compoſed by himſelf. After they had offered all ſorts of indignities to the bleeding carcaſe, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the marechal de Montmorency cauſed it to be taken down in the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole houſe of Guiſe had been perſonally animated againſt the admiral, ever ſince the aſſaſſination of Claude duke of Guiſe, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; and 'tis certain, the admiral was never able to clear himſelf of this imputation. If this cruel ſlaughter (as many people are fully perſuaded) was only an effect of the Guiſes' reſentment, who adviſed the queen-mother to it, with a view of revenging their own injuries; it muſt be confeſſed, that no particular perſon ever drew ſo ſevere a vengeance for an offence. All the domeſtics of the admiral were afterwards ſlain; and the ſlaughter was at the ſame time begun by the king's emiſſaries in all parts of the city. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of the calviniſts that periſhed, were Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the king, and finding himſelf ſeized in bed by men in maſques, thought it was the king and his courtiers, who came to divert themſelves with him. An-

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1572. petrated on the 24th of Auguſt, 1572, and too well known by the name of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, I ſhould in this place enlarge upon the number, the quality, the virtues, and great talents of thoſe who were inhumanly murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris, as in every part of the kingdom: I ſhould mention at leaſt the ignominious treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and ſavage inſults theſe miſerable victims ſuffered from their butchers, and which in death were a thouſand times more terrible than death itſelf. I have writings ſtill in my hands, which would confirm the report of the court of France having made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the neighbouring courts to follow its example with regard to the proteſtants, or at leaſt to refuſe an aſylum to thoſe unfortunate people; but I prefer the honour of the nation to the ſatisfying a malignant pleaſure, which many perſons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of thoſe who were ſo loſt to humanity, as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even their own relations. I

tony de Clermont, marquis de Reſnel, was murdered by his own kinſman Lewis de Clermont, of Buſſy d'Amboiſe, with whom he was then at law for the marquiſate of Clermont. Charles de Quellenec, baron of Pont in Bretagne, whoſe dead body excited the curioſity of the ladies of the court, on account of a proceſs carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heireſs of John de Soubize. Francis Nonpar de Caumont, was murdered in his bed, betwixt his two ſons; one of them was ſtabbed by his ſide, but the other, by counterfeiting himſelf dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, eſcaped. Teligny, ſon-in-law to the admiral; Charles de Beaumanoir de Lavardin; Antony de Marafin, lord of Guerchy; Beaudiſner, Pluviaut, Berny, Du Briou, governor to the marquis of Conti; Beauvais, governor to the king of Navarre; Colombieres, Francourt, &c. The count of Montgomery was purſued by the duke of Guiſe as far as Montfort L'Amaury. The king pardoned the viſcounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Bouchavannes: the three brothers of the marechal de Montmorency were alſo ſpared, through fear that he might hereafter revenge their death. See the hiſtorians and other writers, and that fine deſcription of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire in his Henriade, Canto ſecond.

would,

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would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate the memory of a day that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continued ſucceſſion of miſeries, blood, and horror, during ſix and twenty years; for it is not poſſible to judge otherwiſe, if one reflects on all that paſſed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. 'Tis with regret that I cannot omit what happened upon this occaſion to the prince, who is the ſubject of theſe Memoirs, and to myſelf. 1572.

I was in bed, and awaked from ſleep three hours after midnight, by the ſound of all the bells, and the confuſed cries of the populace. My governor Sr. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went haſtily out to know the cauſe; and I never afterwards heard more of theſe men, who without doubt were amongſt the firſt that were ſacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber dreſſing myſelf, when in a few moments I ſaw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmoſt conſternation: he was of the reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had conſented to go to maſs, to ſave his life, and preſerve his houſe from being pillaged. He came to perſuade me to do the ſame, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but reſolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had ſtudied: tho' the great diſtance between the houſe where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous. Having diſguiſed myſelf in a ſcholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm, and went into the ſtreet. I was ſeized with horror inexpreſſible, at the ſight of the furious murderers; who running from all parts, forced open the houſes, and cried aloud, "Kill, kill, maſſacre the huguenots:" the blood which I ſaw ſhed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midſt of a body of guards; they ſtopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to uſe me ill, when, happily for

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1572. me, the book that I carried was perceived, and ſerved me for a paſſport. Twice after this I fell into the ſame danger, from which I extricated myſelf with the ſame good fortune. At laſt I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger ſtill greater than any I had yet met with, awaited me. The porter having twice refuſed me entrance, I continued ſtanding in the midſt of the ſtreet, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whoſe numbers increaſed every moment, and who were evidently ſeeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to aſk for La Faye, the principal of this college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by ſome ſmall pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me; and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman prieſts, whom I heard mention Sicilian veſpers, wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, ſaying the order was, not to ſpare even infants at the breaſt. All the good man could do, was to conduct me privately to a diſtant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my deſtiny; and ſaw no one but a ſervant of my friend's, who came from time to time to bring me proviſions.

At the end of theſe three days, the prohibition for murdering and pillaging any more of the proteſtants being publiſhed, I was ſuffered to leave my cell; and immediately after I ſaw Ferriere and La Vieville, two ſoldiers of the guard, who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They were armed, and came, without doubt, to reſcue me by force wherever they ſhould find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me; and eight days afterwards I received a letter from him, in which he expreſſed the fears he had ſuffered on my account, and adviſed me to continue in Paris, ſince the prince I ſerved was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid expoſing myſelf

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ſelf to an evident danger, it was neceſſary I ſhould reſolve to follow that prince's example, and go to maſs. In effect, the king of Navarre had found no other means of ſaving his life. He was awaked, with the prince of Condé, two hours before day, by a great number of ſoldiers, who ruſhed boldly into a chamber, in the Louvre, where they lay, and inſolently commanded them to dreſs themſelves, and attend the king. They would not ſuffer the two princes to take their ſwords with them; who, as they paſſed, beheld ſeveral of their gentlemen * maſſacred before their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and eyes in which fury was viſibly painted: he ordered them, with oaths and blaſphemies, which were familiar with him, to quit a religion that had been only taken up, he ſaid, to ſerve for a cloak to their rebellion. The condition to which theſe princes † were reduced, could not hinder them from diſcovering that they ſhould obey him with grief. The king, tranſported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone, "That he would no longer be contradicted in his "opinions by his ſubjects; that they, by their "example, ſhould teach others to revere him as "the image of God, and ceaſe to be enemies to "the images of his mother." He ended by declaring, that if they did not go to maſs, he would 1572.

* James de Segur, baron of Pardaillan, a Gaſcon; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaſton de Levis, lord of Leyran, took refuge under the queen of Navarre's bed, who ſaved his life. Some perſons were ſent to Châtillon, to ſeize Francis de Châtillon, the admiral's ſon, and Guy D'Andelot's ſon; but they both eſcaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was ſaved by fortifying himſelf in the arſenal.

† As Henry went to the king, Catherine gave orders that they ſhould lead him under the vaults, and make him paſs through the guards drawn up in files on each ſide, in menacing poſtures. He trembled and recoiled two or three ſteps back, when immediately Nançai-la-Chatre, captain of the guards, endeavoured to remove his apprehenſions, by ſwearing they ſhould do him no hurt. Henry, though he gave but little credit to his words, was obliged to go on amidſt the carabines and halberts. Pereſixe's hiſtory of Henry the great.

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1572. treat them as criminals guilty of treaſon againſt divine and human majeſty. The manner in which theſe words were pronounced, not ſuffering the princes to doubt if they were ſincere, they yielded to neceſſity, and performed what was required of them. Henry was even obliged to ſend an edict into his dominions, by which the exerciſe of any other religion but the Romiſh was forbid. Tho' this ſubmiſſion preſerved his life, yet in other things he was not better treated; and he ſuffered a thouſand capricious inſults from the court: free by intervals, but more often cloſely confined, and treated as a criminal, his domeſtics ſometimes permitted to attend him, then all on a ſudden not ſuffered to appear.

As for me, I employed this leiſure in the moſt advantageous manner I was able. I had it no longer in my choice to proſecute my ſtudy of the learned languages, nor of whatever is called learning: this application, which my father had ſtrongly recommended to me, became impracticable from the moment I lived in the court. It was with regret that I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whoſe care he had intruſted my education; he himſelf perceiving he could be no longer uſeful to me, aſked leave to retire. From his hands I paſſed into thoſe of a man named Chrétien, whom the king of Navarre kept in his train, and who was ordered by him to teach me mathematics and hiſtory; two ſciences which ſoon conſoled me for thoſe I renounced, becauſe I felt an inclination for them, which I have ever ſince preſerved: the reſt of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in performing all thoſe exerciſes that give eaſe and gracefulneſs to the perſon. It was in theſe principles, to which a ſtill greater attention to form the manners was joined, that that method of educating youth conſiſted, which was known to be peculiar to the king of Navarre, for he himſelf had been brought up in that manner. I

continued

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continued to follow it till I was ſixteen years of age, when the ſituation of affairs throwing both him and me into the tumult of arms, from which we had no hope of being freed, to theſe exerciſes thoſe only that related to war ſucceeded; which I began by learning to ſhoot, and renounced all others. In ſuch circumſtances all that a young man can do, is to improve his morals, if he cannot his genius; for even the hurry and confuſion of arms offer excellent ſchools of virtue and politeneſs to him that is deſirous of profiting by them: but miſerable, and that during his whole life, is he who engages in a profeſſion ſo fatal to youth, without having ſtrength or inclination to reſiſt bad examples: tho' he ſhould have the good fortune to preſerve himſelf from being tainted with any ſhameful vice, how will he be able to inſtruct and fortify his heart in theſe principles, which wiſdom dictates as well to a private man as a prince, but by making virtue habitual by practice? ſo that any good action may never become painful, and that, if reduced to a neceſſity of ſaving all by a crime, or loſing all by a virtuous action, he may find his duty and inclination the ſame. 1572.

It was not long before Charles felt the moſt violent remorſe for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to give the ſanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of Auguſt, he was obſerved to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thouſand ſtrokes of cruelty, which every one boaſted of in his preſence. Of all thoſe who were about the perſon of this prince, none poſſeſſed ſo great a ſhare of his confidence, as Ambroſe Paré, his ſurgeon. This man, tho' a huguenot, lived with him in ſo great a degree of familiarity, that, on the day of the maſſacre, Charles telling him, the time was now come when the whole kingdom would be catholics: he replied, without being alarmed, "By the light of "God, ſire, I cannot believe that you have forgot

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1572. "your promiſe never to command me to do four "things, namely, to enter into my mother's "womb, to be preſent in the day of battle, to "quit your ſervice, or to go to maſs." The king ſoon after took him aſide, and diſcloſed to him freely the trouble of his ſoul: "Ambroſe, ſaid he, I "know not what has happened to me theſe two or "three days paſt, but I feel my mind and body as "much at enmity with each other, as if I was "ſeized with a fever: ſleeping or waking, the "murdered huguenots ſeem ever preſent to my "eyes, with ghaſtly faces, and weltering in blood. "I wiſh the innocent and helpleſs had been ſpared." The order which was publiſhed the following day, forbidding the continuance of the maſſacre, was in conſequence of this converſation.

The king hoped to retrieve his honour, by publicly diſavowing all that had been done. In the letters patent which he ſent into the provinces, he threw all upon the Guiſes, and would have had the maſſacre paſs for an effect of their hatred to the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this ſubject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring ſtates, were all conceived in the ſame terms.

It is not to be doubted, but the queen-mother, and her council, made the king comprehend the bad conſequence of ſo formal a diſavowal; for, at the end of eight days, his ſentiments and language were ſo much changed, that he went to hold his bed of juſtice in the parliament, and ordered other letters patent to be regiſtered, which declared, that nothing was acted on the 24th of Auguſt but by his expreſs commands *, and to puniſh the hugue-

* Nothing is more certain, than that he was ſeen with a carabine in his hand during the maſſacre, which, 'tis ſaid, he fired upon the calviniſts that were flying. The laſt marechal de Teſſé, in his youth, was acquainted with an old man of ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX. and often told him, that he himſelf had loaded that carabine. 'Tis alſo true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the admiral, which hung by the feet with

nots;

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nots; to each of the principals of which party, a capital crime was imputed, in order, if poſſible, to give the name and colour of a juſt execution to that deteſtable butchery. Theſe letters were addreſſed to the governors of provinces, with orders to publiſh them, and purſue the reſt of the pretended guilty. I ought here to make honourable mention of the counts de Tende *, and de Charny; of Meſſieurs de Mandelot, de Gordes, de Saint-Heran, and de Carouge, who boldly refuſed to execute ſuch orders in their governments. The viſcount d'Ortez, governor of Baïonne, had reſolution enough to anſwer Charles IX. who wrote to him with his own hand, "That on this point "he muſt not expect any obedience from him." 1572.

The number of proteſtants maſſacred, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to ſeventy thouſand. This cruel blow ſtruck the party with ſuch terror, that, believing itſelf wholly extinct, nothing was talked of but ſubmitting, or flying into foreign countries. A bold and vigo-

a chain of iron to the gallows of Montfaucon; and one of his courtiers obſerving it ſmelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, "The body of a dead "enemy always ſmells well." Theſe two anecdotes I relate after the author of the Henriade, in his notes, p. 32 and 37.

* Claude de Savoy, count of Tende, ſaved the lives of all the proteſtants in Dauphiny. When he received the king's letter, by which he was directed to deſtroy them, he ſaid, That could not be his majeſty's order. Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny, lieutenant general in Burgundy: there was only one Calviniſt murdered at Dijon. Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon: he was reſolved to ſave the proteſtants, nevertheleſs they were all maſſacred in the priſons where he had put them for ſecurity. He is ſaid, by M. de Thou, to have only feigned ignorance of this barbarity. Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, a man in great eſteem. N— de S. Heran de Montmorin, governor of Auvergne: he poſitively refuſed to obey, unleſs the king was preſent in perſon. Tanneguy Le-Veneur, governor of Normandy, an honeſt humane man; he did all that lay in his power to preſerve the proteſtants at Rouen, but he was not maſter of it. N— viſcount d'Ortez, governor of all that frontier. See his anſwer to the king. "Sire, "I have communicated your ma-"jeſty's orders to your faithful "inhabitants, and to the troops in "the garriſon; I found there good "citizens, and brave ſoldiers, but "not one executioner," &c. De Thou, book lii. and liii. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. &c.

1572. rous ſtroke for once broke this reſolution. * Renier, a gentleman of the reformed religion, having by a kind of miracle eſcaped out of the hands of the lord de Vezins, his moſt cruel enemy, ſaved himſelf, with the viſcount de Gourdon, and about eighty horſe, and came to Montauban. He found this city under ſuch a conſternation, and ſo little in a condition to defend itſelf againſt the troops of Montluc †, who were approaching, that, having ventured to adviſe the inhabitants to hold out, he himſelf had like to have been delivered up to Montluc; which obliging him to leave Montauban precipitately, his little troop fell in with a ſquadron of 450 horſe, belonging to the army of Montluc; and, being deſirous of dying nobly, performed ſuch wonderful acts of valour, that they were all cut in pieces. Renier returned to Montauban with this good news; he was now obeyed, and they ſhut the gates upon Montluc. This reſiſtance, and the reſolution of Montauban ſpreading about, thirty towns followed its example, and behaving in a manner the proteſtants had not dared to hope for, obliged the catholics to keep themſelves upon the defenſive.

The catholics immediately turned all their forces againſt Rochelle and Sancerre, which, taking advantage of the general fear, they had inveſted. Theſe enterprizes did not ſucceed: Sancerre, after having ſuffered all the horrors of a famine, of which no hiſtory can furniſh us with examples, at laſt concluded a ſort of treaty with the beſiegers; but Rochelle held out, and baffled all the duke of Anjou's efforts §, who had in perſon come to beſiege

* Here is an error in the Memoirs of Sully: It was Vezins himſelf, a man of great honeſty, but of harſh manners, that ſaved the life of Renier, whoſe enemy he had a long time been, and ſtill continued to be, notwithſtanding this action. See this remarkable hiſtory in M. de Thou, book lii.

† Blaiſe de Montluc, marechal of France.

§ The marechal de Montluc, in his Commentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this ſiege, that they did not ſend troops enough, carried on the aſſaults improperly, hazarded too much, and ſuffered victuals to be brought into the place it.

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it. The election for the throne of Poland happened very opportunely to save the honour of this prince; and by a treaty, in which Nîmes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle preserved all its privileges: and these were the only cities which kept entire all the advantages of the last edicts. 1572.

Time also produced other favourable conjunctures for the calvinists. The queen-mother, of all her children, felt only a true affection for the duke of Anjou. The departure of this prince for Poland gave her as much grief as it occasioned joy to his two brothers, king Charles and the duke of Alençon; the last of whom, by his brother's removal, becoming duke of Anjou, began to entertain great hopes of the crown of France, when he reflected that Charles had no children, and that his weak state of health was changed into a mortal disease. The opposition he thought there was reason to apprehend the queen-mother would give to his design, wholly alienated his affections from her. This princess, by bestowing her confidence on a small number of foreigners of mean birth, who governed her finances, had made the greatest part of the nobility almost as discontented as the duke of Alençon: He privately fomented this revolt, and persuaded them to apply to the protestants for assistance, in whose disgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to gratify the duke of Anjou, and her tenderness for the king of Poland, she began from that moment to think in earnest of marrying the first of these princes to the queen of England, and of procuring for him the

by sea; however, he says, it would have been taken at last. He advised the queen-mother, from the time she went to Baïonne, to take possession of this city: it would have saved France both men and money had this advise been followed. See a relation of the sieges of Rochelle, and Sancerre, in D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. La Popeliniere, book xxxiii. and Matthieu, vol. I. p. 340. and other historians.

sovereignty

1572. sovereignty of the Low Countries: but his discontent had already produced its effect.

Charles, through another motive, joined in his brother's resentment against the queen their mother. The disease with which he found himself attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the king of Poland, in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to have the pleasure of seeing him
1573. leave his kingdom. The condition to which he soon saw himself reduced, gave birth to a thousand suspicions against Catherine in his mind; so that, uniting his interest with that of the protestants, he began to shew them a great deal of favour. This principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithstanding the opposition made by the queen-mother, to send deputies to court, to declare their grievances, and propose their demands. These deputies meeting with others, who came from the catholic provinces, who had been prevailed upon by the discontented lords to demand the suppression of certain new taxes, and a diminution during ten years of the old, they joined each other. The memorial indeed which contained their demands was signed only by four or five gentlemen, but the terms in which it was conceived shewed the most immovable steadiness in a party that seemed to derive new strength even from its losses. The queen-mother was violently enraged at it; but the king not suffering her to exert any authority upon this occasion, all she could do was to make use of delays till the death of this prince, which she foresaw was not far distant. The protestants penetrated into her designs; and, that they might not be prevented, appeared suddenly in arms. This was called the rebellion of Shrove Tuesday, because they possessed themselves of several towns on that day *. Montgomery † returned from England to

* Fontenay, Lusignon, Melle, Pons, Tonnay-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other places in Poitou, Languedoc, Dauphiny, &c.

† Gabriel, count of Montgomery, the same that wounded Henry II.

Normandy,

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Normandy, where he fortified himself. The queen-mother, and the whole court, was then at St. Germain-en-Laye. She was resolved, at least, to take such measures, that the princes should not escape; but the attempts that were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little embarrass her. Guitry * and Buhy came one day to St. Germain to carry them away by force; the alarm was very great, but the conspirators not having sufficiently secured the success of their design, Catherine had time to fly with the princes to Paris; where she beheaded Coconnas † and La-Mole, the contrivers of the plot, and imprisoned the marechals de Montmorency and de Cossé. She afterwards placed guards about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, and sent soldiers to Amiens to arrest the prince of Condé, who was there strictly watched, and bring him to Paris. The prince was informed of it, and disguising himself, deluded his spies, and the third time escaped happily to Germany; where, upon his arrival, he was declared generalissimo of the protestant troops in France. 1574.

The queen-mother took a resolution to send all her forces against the huguenots immediately. They were divided into three armies: Matignon ‡ led the first into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three ‖ inconsiderable forts in

* John de Chaumont, marquis of Quitry or Guitry: Peter de Mornay, lord of Buhy, brother of Du-Plessis-Mornay. See an account of this enterprize in the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, Book i. p. 26.

† Joseph Boniface de-la-Mole; Hanibal, count of Coconnas, a Piedmontese. "La-Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two great princesses, [the queen of Navarre and the duchess of Nevers] love and jealousy brought them both to destruction." Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 75.

‡ James de Matignon, marechal of France: he died in the year 1597. This nobleman, for his great qualities, deserves all the praises that M. de Thou has given him, particularly for his inviolable attachment to the person of his king; a virtue in those times very uncommon. De Thou, book lxvi.

‖ These were Carentan, Valogne, Saint-Lo, and Donfront. In this last he was taken fighting like a man in despair. D'Aubigné, who was himself a zealous protestant, cannot certainly be suspected of partiality upon this question his

1574. his poſſeſſion, was ſoon defeated, and obliged to deliver himſelf up to this marechal, who carried him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The ſecond, commanded by the duke de Montpenſier *, went to inveſt Fontenay, and afterwards Luſignan, which he took, notwithſtanding the bravery with which the viſcount de Rohan defended it. The prince † Dauphin, who commanded the third, took likewiſe ſome ſmall places in Dauphiny; but having ſat down before Livron, ſhamefully raiſed the ſiege. All was ſuſpended on account of the king's death, which happened this year, on Pentecoſt day. This prince died at the caſtle of Vincennes, in the moſt exquiſite torments, and bathed in his own blood. The cruel maſſacre on St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind; and he continued to the laſt, by his tears and agonies, to ſhew the grief and remorſe he felt for it ‡. The

relating to the promiſe given to the count by the marechal. "The "place, ſays he, was taken, and "life was promiſed to all but the "count, to whom artful aſſurances "were given, that he ſhould not "be delivered into any other hands "than the king's. This I am con-"vinced of, notwithſtanding the "contrary has been written. "France is guilty of but too many "perjuries, there is no occaſion "to invent any to charge her "with," &c. Vol. II. book ii. chap. vii. Montgomery ſubmitted to his fate like a hero. De Thou, Brantome, &c.

* Francis of Bourbon. This branch of Montpenſier deſcended from a Lewis of Bourbon, ſecond ſon of John II. of Bourbon.

† Francis of Bourbon, ſon to the duke of Montpenſier, bore this title. Memoirs of Brantome, vol. iii. p. 301.

‡ He ſent for the king of Navarre, in whom only he acknowledged to have found faith and honour, and moſt affectionately recommended to him his wife and daughter. Perefixe. A little before he expired he ſaid, he was glad he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the ſtate in ſuch difficult times. Montluc, De Thou, and almoſt all the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, that if he had lived he would have been a very great prince. He poſſeſſed, and in a great degree, courage, prudence, eloquence, œconomy, and ſobriety: he loved polite literature and learned men; but he was choleric and a great ſwearer. He was but twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contuſions were found in his body. De Thou. However, there were no proofs found of his being poiſoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude duke of Guiſe ſays he was. His death proceeded from violent exerciſes, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His ſtature was tall, but he was not ſtrait, his ſhoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghaſtly, and his countenance fierce. See F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Maſſon.

cardinal

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cardinal of Lorrain * died alſo on the 23d of December, this year, in the pope's territories; a day made remarkable by the moſt terrible ſtorm that ever was known. 1574.

The king of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night after the news was brought him he ſtole out of the court and fled. In his journey he viſited the emperor Maximilian, and Charles duke of Savoy, and took his route thro' Venice †. In all theſe places, they gave him advice equally wiſe and conformable to his intereſts, which was, to grant the proteſtants peace, and the free exerciſe of their religion; but, inſtead of complying with it, he immediately upon his arrival in France broke the truce that had been granted them for three months, and changed it, at the ſolicitations of the queen-mother, into a declaration of war againſt the whole party; to which a great number of catholics had lately joined themſelves, out of affection to the marechal de Damville ‡, who had been diſguſted by the impriſonment of his brother.

The king went in perſon to lay ſiege a ſecond time to Livron, which he was likewiſe obliged to raiſe; and brought nothing away with him, but the ſhame of finding himſelf inſulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even children, and hearing the moſt ſatirical and cutting reflexions on the queen his mother. From this time he always appeared ſo different from what he had been when duke of Anjou, that it may be ſaid with reaſon, his ſhameful flight to Avignon was at once the æra of his ignominy, his kingdom's misfortunes, and his own. In his journey to Rheims, whither he went immediately after to be conſecrated, he con-

* Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, archbiſhop of Rheims. See his character in the third book of Brantome's Memoirs. He died, ſays he, at Avignon by poiſon, if we may give credit to the Legend of St. Nicaiſe, p. 138. and moſt piouſly, according to Matthieu, who wrote his eulogium, vol. I. book vii. p. 407.

† The reader may conſult Matthieu, vol. I. upon the departure of Henry III. of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

‡ Henry de Montmorency, duke of Damville, ſecond ſon of the conſtable Anne de Montmorency.

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1575. ceived a paſſion for one of the daughters of the count de Vaudemont *, and married her.

It was fortunate for him, that the duke of Anjou was all this time cloſely confined; but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted his title to take that of Monſieur, enjoyed, as well as the king of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was increaſed or leſſened according to the reports that were brought of their correſpondence with the enemies of the queen-mother §. One of Catherine's other cares was to diſunite theſe two princes; which ſhe effected, by promiſing each of them ſeparately the poſt of lieutenant general of the French armies, and by making uſe of ſuch means as ſeldom fail to ſucceed, intrigues of gallantry, and competitions in love. Notwithſtanding all her arts, Monſieur eſcaped at laſt: he deceived his guards, and fled in diſguiſe on the evening of the 17th of September. He no ſooner gained Dreux, than he ſaw himſelf attended by a numerous court, and at the head of a powerful party.

The prince of Condé had laboured ſo effectually in Germany, that prince Caſimir was ſoon in a condition to enter France with a ſtrong army.

Catherine had now recourſe to other ſtratagems; ſhe endeavoured to regain Monſieur by the moſt ſpecious offers, and purſued him from city to city, always attended by a train of young and beautiful ladies, on whom ſhe relied ſtill more. In a

* Louiſa of Lorrain, daughter of Nicolas, duke of Mercœur, count of Vaudemont, and Margaret of Egmond, his firſt wife. Matthieu gives this princeſs great praiſes for her virtue and affection to her huſband. Vol. II. book iii. p. 438.

§ Henry III. hated Monſieur, on account of his having, as he ſuppoſed, attempted to poiſon him. He endeavoured to perſuade the king of Navarre to kill this prince, but was refuſed with horror. Henry III. being ill with a diſorder in his ear, the king of Navarre one day ſaid to the duke of Guiſe, whom he loved, "Our man is "very ill." The duke anſwered the firſt time, "It will be no-"thing." The ſecond, "We "muſt think of it." And the third he ſaid to him, "I under-"ſtand you, Sir;" and ſtriking the hilt of his ſword, "This, ad-"ded he, is at your ſervice." Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 418.

word,

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word *, ſhe ſucceeded ſo well, that he fell at laſt into the ſnare ſhe laid for him. 1576.

The king of Navarre, who had given credit to her promiſe of making him lieutenant-general, thought himſelf now ſecure of it, and rejoiced at firſt that he had got rid of Monſieur, whom he always looked upon as his rival; but the ladies de Carnavelet and de Sauves drew him out of his miſtake. They made him comprehend, that if one of them could pretend to this great employment, it would be Monſieur, of whoſe reconciliation it would be made the price; but that in reality Catherine deceived them both, and that he in particular had nothing to expect but a more rigorous captivity. This opened the prince's eyes, and he now wholly applied himſelf to the recovery of his liberty. The means were offered him one day in the month of February, when he was hunting near Senlis †: his guards being diſperſed, he inſtantly paſſed the Seine at Poiſſy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up ſome money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horſe, arrived at Alençon, which the lord de Hertra had ſeized in his name. There he had a conference with Monſieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to unite all their forces. From Alençon the king of Navarre went to Tours; where he no ſooner arrived, than he publicly reſumed the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. I was one of thoſe who accompanied this prince in his flight, and during his whole journey. He ſent me from Tours with Fervaques ‡, to demand the princeſs his ſiſter of the court. She was delivered to us, and the ſecond day after, ſhe alſo reſuming her religion, heard ſermon in the calviniſt

* They conferred together at Champigny-ſur-Vade, a houſe belonging to the duke of Montpenſier, upon the confines of Touraine.

† See an account of this in D'Aubigné, vol. II. ch. xviii. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. page 420, &c.

‡ William de Hautemer, count of Grancy, lord of Fervaques, &c. marechal of France, and lieutenant-general in Normandy. He died in the year 1613, aged ſeventy-five years. Madame Catherine of Bourbon, afterwards dutcheſs of Bar.

church

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1576. church at Chateaudun, and joined the king, who waited for her at Parthenay.

The three princes, after uniting their troops, found themſelves at the head of fifty thouſand * effective men, and made Catherine tremble in her turn. A bloody war was now expected. I threw myſelf into the infantry, in the character of a volunteer, till an employment more ſuitable was given me. I made my firſt eſſay in arms in the neighbourhood of Tours, where ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from the different parties. The king of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of raſhneſs than courage in it, ordered me to be called, and ſaid to me, "Roſny, "it is not here that I would have you hazard "your life; I admire your valour, but I deſire "you ſhould employ it on a better occaſion." This occaſion was not ſo near as we believed, for Catherine finding herſelf deficient in ſtrength, had recourſe to her uſual artifices. She talked of peace; ſhe offered more than we thought we could demand; promiſes coſt this artful princeſs nothing. In a word, ſhe had addreſs enough to make the princes lay down their arms, and peace was concluded upon, and ſigned three months after. This was called Monſieur's peace †, for, beſides that Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain this prince, he was ſo much the dupe of her artifices, that at laſt he wiſhed for it, and ſolicited it more warmly than any other perſon. It muſt be confeſſed, it was a very advantageous one; however, the princes never committed a fault more irreparable than when they ſigned it.

* According to others, 30,000 only.

† By the edict of ſixty-three articles, paſſed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine, between the queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the admiral de Coligny and the other proteſtant chiefs were reſtored, chambers of juſtice, compoſed equally of proteſtants and catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and ſeveral cities given for ſecurity. Monſieur procured alſo a large appennage for himſelf, and a conſiderable ſum in money and jewels for prince Caſimir. De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c.

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To this Monſieur added a ſecond error as conſiderable againſt his own intereſt; he ſeparated from the proteſtants *, and by that means loſt opportunities both in France and England, of becoming one of the moſt powerful princes perhaps in Europe. Thus all things fell out agreeable to the queen-mother's wiſhes, who, in making this peace, had nothing in view but the diſunion of her enemies. 1576.

Henry, upon the concluſion of the peace, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the king. The catholics in this prince's train did not meet with ſo favourable a reception. Caumont, afterwards duke of Epernon †, was not ſuffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could prove had embrued his ſword in the bloody ſlaughter of the 24th of Auguſt.

The king of Navarre ſtaid but a ſhort time in this city. As ſoon as he demamded the accompliſhment of the treaty, he became ſenſible of the great fault he had committed: the queen-mother denied ſhe had promiſed any thing to the proteſtants, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I now quitted my firſt poſt; M. de Lavardin ‡, my kinſman, who had a great affection for me, preſented me with a pair of colours in the company he commanded. I was appointed to defend Périgueux, and afterwards Villeneuve, in Agenois, which was threatened with a ſiege. The king of Navarre had a deſign to undertake ſome conſiderable enterprizes, but the opportunity for them

* In reality, Monſieur, on this occaſion, ſacrificed the king of Navarre and the huguenots to his intereſts, or his politics. In the memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 90. and following, may be ſeen all the ſteps taken by each party on occaſion of this treaty.

† John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon. He will be mentioned hereafter.

‡ John de Beumanoir de Lavardin or Laverdin, mareſchal of France.

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1576. was loſt: the greateſt part of the troops, upon which he relied, diſappointed him, and the reſt were in ſo bad a condition, that it was with difficulty he made two attempts, the one upon Réole, the other on St. Macary; in the laſt of which he failed. Favas *, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty ſoldiers, who entered it with very little danger. I demanded a like commiſſion of Langoiran, to whom the aſſault of St. Macary was entruſted; he granted it, and joined my couſin Bethune with me: but Favas retained us in the ſecond troop. This I mention as an inſtance of the firſt good fortune I met with in war; for the inhabitants of St. Macary, having had notice of our deſign, received us ſo well, that not a man of the firſt troop, who had courage to enter, ever returned.

At the ſiege of Ville-Franche, in Périgord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was expoſed to a danger more conſiderable. During the aſſault, having mounted the wall with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay ſunk in the mud, and ſo entangled with my colours, that had it not been for the aſſiſtance of La Trape, my valet de chambre, and ſome ſoldiers, who helped me to get up, I muſt infallibly have periſhed. The city being forced while they were parlying on the walls, it was given up to pillage. I gained a purſe of a thouſand crowns in gold for my ſhare, which an old man, who was purſued by five or ſix ſoldiers, gave me to ſave his life. The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a very ſingular adventure that happened ſome time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the deſign of ſeizing upon Montpazier †, another little neighbouring town, by ſurprize, they choſe for the ex-

* John Favas, called captain Favas.

† A town in Périgord, upon the confines of Quercy.

ecution

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ecution of it the very ſame night which the citizens of Montpazier had, without knowing any thing of the matter, pitched upon to make themſelves maſters of Ville-Franche. Chance ordered it ſo, that the parties taking different ways, did not meet; all was executed with ſo much the leſs difficulty, as the walls of both towns were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themſelves with booty; each thought himſelf happy till day appeared, and diſcovered the miſtake. They then came to a compoſition, every thing was reſtored to its right owner, and they returned to their reſpective habitations. Such was the manner of making war in thoſe times; it conſiſted of ſeizing by artifice the towns and caſtles of the enemy, tho' often thoſe attempts produced very bloody engagements. 1576.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that the king of Navarre was very indifferently ſerved: his army was almoſt equally compoſed of proteſtants and catholics, and he often ſaid, that his obligations were greateſt to the laſt, for they ſerved him diſintereſtedly, and through pure attachment to his perſon: but it was this medley of catholics and proteſtants that ruined his affairs. Meſſieurs de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Luſignon *, de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal proteſtants, had an invincible averſion to Meſſieurs de Lavardin, de Mioſſens †, de Grammont, de Duras, de Saint Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other catholic officers. This appeared, amongſt other occaſions, in an affair where I was concerned: an officer named Frontenac ‡, having treated me contemptuouſly on account of my youth, added, that the milk was not out of my noſe. I replied, that I

* Lewis D'Luſignon of S. Gelais.

† Henry D'Albret, baron of Mioſſens.

‡ Antony de Buade de Frontenac.

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1576. found myſelf ſtrong enough to draw blood from his with my ſword. This quarrel made a noiſe; and what was very extraordinary, tho' my antagoniſt was a catholic, and myſelf a proteſtant, yet the viſcount de Turenne * promiſed him his aſſiſtance, and that of his proteſtant friends, againſt me; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his catholics offered their ſervices to me. The viſcount's hatred to me, proceeded from my having taken Langoiran's part (to whom I was obliged) in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de Turenne expected, that wherever he and Langoiran were together, the latter ſhould receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who thought his birth equal to Turenne's, made a jeſt of his pretenſions; and adding ſome ſtrokes of raillery, ſpoke of Turenne as a bigot, who came over to the reformed, only becauſe Buſſy † had ſupplanted him in Monſieur's favour. When the quarrel was compoſed, I was adviſed to ſeek the friendſhip of Turenne. I complied, but he anſwered my firſt advances ſo ill, that I drew back, and we continued at a greater diſtance than ever.

This animoſity between the parties gave riſe to an oppoſition in the king of Navarre's councils, which blaſted many of his deſigns, and in particular that upon Marmande ‡. Lavardin having attacked it, contrary to the advice of La Noüe, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, he cauſed ſeveral bodies, of a hundred arquebuſiers each, to advance, with orders to poſſeſs themſelves of the hollows and other advantageous parts near the walls of this city. The command of one of theſe bodies was given to me; and ſcarce had I poſted

* Henry de la Tour, viſcount de Turenne, afterwards duke of Bouillon.

† Lewis de Clermont de Buſſy-d'Amboiſe, celebrated for his valour and perſonal accompliſhments. In an aſſignation he had ſome time after with the lady de Montſoreau, he was killed by her huſband and his domeſtics.

‡ In Agenois, upon the Garone.

myſelf

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myſelf at about two hundred paces diſtant from the city, when I was attacked by a detachment of the beſieged three times ſuperior to mine in number: I entrenched my men, and being favoured by ſome houſes, we defended ourſelves a long time. The king of Navarre, who ſaw the danger to which we were expoſed, ran to us, covered only with a cuiraſs, fought the whole day, and gave us time to ſeize the deſtined poſts; but they were of little uſe to us, as we had not men enough to ſurround the city on all ſides; and the king of Navarre would have had the mortification of not being able to approach it, and of being under a neceſſity of ſhamefully raiſing the ſiege, had not the arrival of the marechal de Biron, with propoſals for an accommodation, furniſhed him with an honourable pretence for withdrawing his troops. 1576.

A truce only could be agreed upon, during which the king of Navarre went to Bearn, to viſit the princeſs his ſiſter, or rather the young Tignonville *, with whom he was in love. I was permitted to accompany him; and giving back my enſign's commiſſion to M. de Lavardin, who beſtowed it upon young Bethune, my couſin, I quitted my equipage of war, and took one more ſuitable to the character I was to appear in. My œconomy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances ſo conſiderable, that I ſaw myſelf now in a condition to entertain ſeveral gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myſelf ſolely to the perſon of the king. As I had no inclination to deſcend from this ſtation, I regulated my domeſtic affairs in ſuch a manner, that the king of Navarre, who was always attentive to the conduct of his officers, confeſſed to me afterwards, that I owed the greateſt

* This young lady was daughter to madam de Tignonville, governeſs to madame the king of Navarre's ſiſter, who in the court of Navarre was generally called mademoiſelle Navarre. Mademoiſelle Tignonville was afterwards married to the baron of Pangeas.

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1576. part of that esteem with which he honoured me, to the prudent œconomy he observed in this disposition of my affairs. It was my youth only that made this conduct appear extraordinary, for I began early to be sensible of what advantage it is, to preserve an exact regularity in domestic concerns. Such a propensity, in my opinion, is a very happy presage, either for a soldier or a statesman.

During our stay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but diversions and gallantry. The taste which Madame, the king's sister, had for amusements, proved an inexhaustible source of them to us. Of this princess I learned the trade of a courtier, which I was yet unacquainted with. She had the goodness to make me one in all her parties; and I remember, she would teach me herself the steps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with the greatest magnificence.

The truce was now almost expired, and the king of Navarre, who had been informed that the city Eause *, excited by the mutineers, had refused to give entrance to a garrison he sent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he himself waited for us. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advertised of his march, and entered it, without meeting with any resistance, at the head of fifteen or sixteen of his men, who had followed him closer than the rest of his troop. As soon as the mutineers perceived this, they called out to have the draw-bridge instantly let down; which was accordingly done, and fell almost upon the buttocks of my horse and Bethune's, so that we were separated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the same time rung the alarm-bell, and arming hastily, a band of fifty soldiers came thundering upon us: among these we distinguished

* A city of Armagnac.

three

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three or four voices, which cried, "Fire upon 1576.
"that ſcarlet cloak, and white plume, for it is
"the king of Navarre." "My friends, my
"companions," ſaid this prince, turning towards us, "it is here that you muſt ſhew courage and re-
"ſolution, for our ſafety depends upon what we
"now act; follow me then, and do as I do, with-
"out firing your piſtols." As he ended theſe words, he marched fiercely up to the mutineers with his piſtol in his hand: they could not ſuſtain the ſhock, and were ſoon diſperſed; three or four ſmall bodies of men preſented themſelves afterwards, and theſe alſo we drove before us; but the enemies drawing together, to the number of two hundred, and our forces being greatly diminiſhed, the danger became inevitable. The king retired to the gate, which facilitated his defence, and there he kept firm. He had the preſence of mind to order two of us to climb up upon the belfrey, and make a ſign to our companions, who continued in the field, to advance and force the gate. This they performed with the more eaſe, as very fortunately the bridge had not been drawn up.

Thoſe of the citizens who were well affected to the king, but had been forced by the ſeditious into their meaſures, perceiving the ſoldiers upon the point of entering the city, attacked the rebels behind. Theſe laſt defended themſelves till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the ſword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their conſuls at their head, thrown themſelves at the king's feet, and implored his pardon. He granted it, and contented himſelf with puniſhing only thoſe four perſons who had fired upon the white plume.

The king of Navarre, leaving * Bethune governor in Eauſe, advanced haſtily towards Mi-

* See all theſe little military expeditions in Aubigné, book ii.

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1576. rande *, upon advice, that St. Criq, a catholic gentleman of his party, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the city; but not having men enough to keep it, had been obliged to throw himſelf, with his troops, into the tower, where he was beſieged, and hard preſſed by the citizens and garriſon of the place. Notwithſtanding the king marched with all poſſible diligence, he could not prevent the unhappy fate of this officer, who had juſt been taken, and burnt with all his men, when Henry appeared before the walls of Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into their power, artfully concealed what had happened, and made the trumpets ſound, as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the aſſiſtance they brought him; when a huguenot ſoldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the king of Navarre was going to precipitate himſelf, together with all his men, who muſt infallibly have periſhed, through the great ſuperiority of the enemies numbers, came over the wall, to inform him of the ſnare that was laid for him. The king now thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande ſoon perceived that their deſign was prevented, and ſallying out, attacked him in his retreat. Myſelf and young Bethune having engaged too far amidſt the enemy, were ſurrounded on all ſides: deſpair added to our ſtrength, and we fought like men who were reſolved to ſell their lives dear; but we ſhould certainly have been overpowered, extreme wearineſs making it hardly poſſible for us to uſe our arms any longer, when happily for us, Leſigna, and the elder Bethune, whom the king of Navarre had ſent to our aſſiſtance, charged the enemy ſo fiercely, that they gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating. The ſieur D'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and La

* A city in the county of Armagnac.

Trape,

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Trape, my valet de chambre, did me great ſervice upon this occaſion. 1576.

The king of Navarre, ſeeing night approach, gave orders to ceaſe fighting, and retired to Jegun; where two or three days after, the royal troops, with the marechal de Villars at their head, appeared in arms, drawn thither by the report of the attempt upon Mirande. It would have been raſhneſs to attack them, therefore we kept firmly intrenched, and ſought only to engage them to force us; but this they durſt not attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night: a combat of ſix againſt ſix was propoſed by Lavardin and La Devêſe; but we not being able to agree amongſt ourſelves about the choice of the combatants, the king and the marquis de Villars both drew off their reſpective troops the beginning of the night.

Some time after the king of Navarre going from Leictoure to Montauban, commanded the count de Meilles * and me with five and twenty horſe, to fall on a body of muſqueteers, which the inhabitants of Beaumont † had poſted in the vineyards and hollow places in our paſſage. We engaged, and drove them almoſt to the city gates, from whence about an hundred ſoldiers came out to their aſſiſtance; part of theſe we left dead upon the place, and the reſt were drowned in the ditches. The king, who ſaw the rampart begin to be crowded with ſoldiers, did not think proper to purſue this advantage, and continued his rout.

At his return, he endeavoured to avoid paſſing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember right, was called St. Nicholas ‡, near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the beating of

* Frederick de Foix de Candalle.

† Beaumont of Lomagne in Armagnac.

‡ St. Nicholas de la Grave. Mas de Verdun, or Mas Garnier, a city of Armagnac.

drums,

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1576. drums, and discovered a party of three hundred musqueteers, marching in very indifferent order, under five ensigns. A council was immediately held; some were of opinion that we should attack the enemy, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers; others disapproved this. The king of Navarre, who wanted only to try them, ordered fifty horse to advance, and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domestics behind us, and presented a front to the enemy, which concealed the smallness of our numbers. The shining of our armour contributed to deceive them: they fled across the woods, whether we pursued them; till meeting with a church, they entered it, and barricaded themselves within.

This church was very large, strong, and well furnished with provisions, being the accustomed retreat of the peasants; a great number of whom were then shut up in it. The king of Navarre undertook to force it, and sent to Montauban, Leictoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and soldiers for that purpose; not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the catholic party, would send powerful succours to the besieged, if they were not prevented. In the mean time we endeavoured, with the assistance of our servants, to undermine the church. The choir was allotted to me; and in the space of twelve hours I made an opening in it, tho' the wall was of a great thickness, and built of very hard stone: afterwards, by means of a scaffold raised over this gap, I threw a great quantity of grenadoes into the body of the church. The besieged had no water, and were obliged to temper their meal with wine; and what incommoded them still more, they had neither surgeons, linen, nor salves for the wounds that were given them by the grenadoes. A powerful reinforcement being sent from Montauban to the king of Navarre, they capitulated, and this prince contented himself with only ordering

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ordering ſeven or eight of the moſt mutinous to be hanged; but he was obliged to abandon them all to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hands, and butchered them without mercy. We learned the cauſe of that rage which animated them againſt theſe wretches, in the reproaches they made them, of having carried away ſix women, whom, after they had raviſhed, they put to death, by filling them with gunpowder, and ſetting fire to it. A horrid exceſs of the moſt ſavage cruelty! 1577.

The ſtates, which were then held at Blois, named the archbiſhop of Vienne *, and the duke of Montpenſier and Richlieu, for deputies to the king of Navarre. This prince ſent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commiſſioned to exhort the king of Navarre to embrace the catholic religion, which the ſtates had declared ſhould be maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a ſuſpenſion of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hoſtilities again began.

Some attempts were made upon Caſtel-Jaloux † and Nerac, by the admiral de Villars ‡; but the king of Navarre was preſent every where, and diſconcerted all his deſigns. He expoſed himſelf to equal dangers with the meaneſt ſoldier, and gave a ſtriking proof of the greatneſs of his courage at Nerac ‖; when being ſurrounded by a

* The three deputies whom the ſtates ſent to the king of Navarre, were Peter de Villars, archbiſhop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, lord of Rubempré, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third ſtate. Here therefore is a fault in theſe Memoirs: conſult De Thou, D'Aubigné, &c. See alſo an account of the ſeſſion of the ſtates of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 438, and in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 166, and following.

† Caſtel-Jaloux, or Caſtel-Geloux, near Auch.

‡ Honorat of Savoy, marquis of Villars. Although he was made admiral by the king during the admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exerciſe that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

‖ In Guyenne, the capital of the dutchy of Albret.

body

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1576. body of horſe, detached on purpoſe to ſurpriſe him, he repulſed them almoſt by his ſingle valour. It was not in our power, by the moſt earneſt intreaties, to make him take more care of his life; and his example animating us in our turn, twelve or fifteen of us were bold enough to advance within piſtol-ſhot of the whole catholic army. The king of Navarre, who obſerved us, ſaid to Bethune, "Go to your couſin, the baron of Roſ-"ny; he is raſh and heedleſs to the laſt degree; "bring him and his companions off; for the "enemy ſeeing us retire, will no doubt charge us "ſo fiercely, that they will be all either taken or "killed." I obeyed this order, and the prince perceiving my horſe wounded in the ſhoulder, reproached me for my temerity, in a manner, however, wholly obliging. He propoſed this day a combat of four againſt four; but it did not take place, the admiral having given the ſignal for retreating.

It was of the laſt importance to the king of Navarre to hinder the taking of Brouage *, then beſieged by the duke † of Maïenne. Accordingly he haſtened thither, leaving the viſcount de Turenne to bring his troops after him; but beſide that this nobleman did not arrive ſoon enough to ſuccour the city, the interview between the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé at Pons ‡ ſo exaſperated them againſt each other, that the prince of Condé wanted to fight with the viſcount de Turenne, whom he accuſed of being the author of their miſunderſtanding, and ſoon after openly ſeparated from the king of Navarre.

The peace which ſucceeded accidents ſo unfavourable to the reformed, was the ſole work of Henry III. who was deſirous of giving this mortification to the Guiſes. War was no longer agree-

* A city and port in Saintonge.
† Charles de Lorrain, duke of Maïenne, ſecond ſon of Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe. He was general of the league.
‡ In Saintonge.

able,

able, either to his inclinations, which led him to a strange kind of life, divided between devotion and sensuality *, nor to his designs, that tended only to the crushing of the princes of Lorrain, now grown too powerful by the league. But although this peace † was less advantageous to the huguenots than that of Monsieur, yet they observed the articles of it with more fidelity than the catholics; who while it still subsisted, possessed themselves of Agen, and Villeneuve §, for which it was impossible to make them give satisfaction. The consequence of a peace so very ill observed, was an inactivity full of distrust; which rather resembled a long suspension of arms, than a real peace. In this manner passed the remainder of this year, and part of the following. 1577.

Whether it was, that the queen-mother was desirous of labouring effectually to compose the troubles of the state, or that she had secret designs, which obliged her to gain, if possible, the king of Navarre, she quitted Paris with all her court, and making the tour of the provinces, had a conference with this prince at Réole and Auch. She even staid with him a long while, at different times, either at Nerac ‖, Coutras,

* There is nothing, said Sixtus V. to cardinal de Joyeuse, which your king has not done, and does, to be a monk; nor nothing which I have not done to avoid being one. He had no less than a hundred and fifty valets de chambre, *ministros cubicularios*, says Busbeq, Ep. 31.

† By the treaty that was concluded at Bergerac, between the king of Navarre and the marechal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminished, the exercise of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying-places of the calvinists in this city taken away, the liberty of marriages revoked, the chambers of justice composed of half catholics and half protestants, suppressed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. King Henry III. called this his treaty. Neither party observed it faithfully; the catholics complained that several articles were infringed by the calvinists. Memoirs of Nevers.

§ Villeneuve in Agenois, upon the Lot.

‖ At Nerac, says Le Grain, the queen-mother had several conferences with the king of Navarre, her son-in-law, in which some articles were explained, but not all; for the good lady would always

Fleix,

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1578. Fleix *, or other places; for the year 1578, and part of 1579, where wholly consumed in journeys from one place to another, and reciprocal complaints of the bad execution of treaties, which indeed both parties did not scruple to infringe.

The mixture of two courts equally remarkable for gallantry, produced such an effect as might have been expected. Nothing was seen but balls, festivals, and polite entertainments; but while love became the serious business of the courtiers, Catherine was wholly absorbed in politics: for once, however, she did not succeed. She, indeed, reconciled the king of Navarre to his wife, then greatly disgusted with the proceedings of her brother Henry III. towards her; but she could never draw this prince again to Paris, nor prevail upon him to resign to her those places of security, to obtain which had been her principal view.

I should swell these Memoirs too much, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry; and, to confess the truth, my youth and other affairs, more suitable to my inclinations, did not permit me to engage in the first; as for gallantry, besides that I have lost the remembrance of it, a trifling detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. 'Tis sufficient to say, that all was reduced to a desire of pleasing, and supplanting each other: I shall not, however, omit some adventures relating to the war.

The queen-mother and the king of Navarre, could only agree upon a truce, which was to be in force over the whole kingdom, till the prince and she separated: but, whether she thought that war would afford her a more favourable opportunity of seizing several towns by surprize and artifice, or that this method was more likely to accomplish her views, she was not sorry that both

keep her Spanish gennet by the bridle as much as she was able. It was here that Henry IV. fell in love with the two ladies, D'Agelle and Tosseuse.

* Fleix in Perigord.

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parties seemed to forget they were in peace, and treated each other as enemies. It was now resolved, that there should only be a truce where the court was, and not to extend beyond a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where the queen and the princes resided. This gave rise to a contrast altogether new: here they loaded each other with civilities, and conversed with the greatest familiarity; there they fought with the utmost fury and animosity. The two courts being at Auch, upon a ball night, news was brought to the king of Navarre, that the governor of Réole, who was an old man, and a zealous protestant, having conceived a violent passion for one of the queen-mother's maids of honour, had been prevailed upon to violate his duty, and deliver up the town to the catholics. The king of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately ordered me, and three or four others, to withdraw, and with our arms, concealed under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. We got together as many of our people as we could; and taking care that the entertainment should suffer no interruption, left the hall, and joined the king, with whom we marched all night; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, seized it without opposition. The queen-mother, who could have sworn that the king of Navarre had lain at Auch, was greatly surprized next morning with the news of this expedition; however, she was the first to laugh at it: "I see, said she, this is in "revenge for Réole: the king of Navarre was "resolved to have nut for nut, but mine has the "better kernel." 1578.

An adventure of the same kind happened a short time after. When the court was at Coutras *, the king of Navarre having resolved to seize St. Emilion, he sent us over-night to St. Foi †, which was not comprehended in the truce, from whence we

* In Guienne near Libourne. † Upon the Dordogne in Agenois.

marched

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1579. marched to St. Emilion, with a petard, which we faſtened by two port-holes to a great tower. The burſting of this machine made a noiſe that was heard even at Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to admit two men a-breaſt, and by this means the town was taken. The queen-mother was enraged, and ſaid openly, that ſhe looked upon this action as a premeditated inſult, St. Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. 'Tis certain, that the diſtance between Coutras and this town was ſuch, as rendered the caſe a little doubtful; but the king of Navarre, who knew that a few days before, the citizens of St. Emilion had pillaged a proteſtant merchant, which the queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, juſtified what he had done by this fact, and all was paſſed over.

It often happened, that the two courts ſeparated from each other, when any thing fell out to give either of them diſguſt; but the deſire of pleaſure, which languiſhed while they were divided, ſoon brought them together again. The queen-mother's court was carried by the king of Navarre to Foix; where, among other diverſions, he was reſolved to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frighted; this entertainment did not ſuit with their delicacy. Some of theſe animals tore the horſes to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiſs, and as many fuſileers; and one of them, who had been wounded in ſeveral places, mounting upon a rock, threw himſelf down headlong, with ſeven or eight hunters whom he held faſt in his paws, and cruſhed them to pieces.

At laſt the queen-mother left the king of Navarre, and continued her rout through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny, where ſhe had an interview with the duke of Savoy, and returned to Paris, leaving all things in the ſame ſtate in which ſhe found them; that is, in a peace which only increaſed the doubts and ſuſpicions of each party: however,

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however, ſhe did not forget to ſeduce part of the king of Navarre's catholic officers; among whom were Lavardin, Grammont *, and Duras. Another effect of her preſence was, to embroil ſo perfectly the prince with the viſcount of Turenne, that he challenged him to a ſingle duel. Turenne went indeed to the place of combat, but it was only to make thoſe ſubmiſſions which he owed to the high quality of his antagoniſt. This duel produced nothing fatal, but the viſcount received ſeveral wounds in a ſecond, to which he was challenged by Duras and Roſan †. It was ſaid at that time, that the advantage they had over Turenne, upon this occaſion, was owing to an artifice ſcarcely allowable. 1580.

After the queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre went to Montauban, and from thence to Nerac, where they continued ſome time, uncertain whether it would not be proper to renew the war. This court being no leſs voluptuous than that of France, nothing was thought of but pleaſures and gallantry.

The news of the catholics having taken the city of Figeac § by ſurprize, and holding the caſtle

* Philibert de Grammont, John de Durfort.

† The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Roſan, fought with the viſcount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, baron of Salignac, his ſecond. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the diſadvantage was wholly on their ſide. The viſcount permitted Roſan to riſe, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his ſword; at the ſame moment nine or ten armed men fell upon the viſcount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generouſly intreated the queen-mother to pardon Duras. The marechal de Damville, called by the death of his brother, marechal de Montmorency, coming thither about that time, was conſulted on this action; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the viſcount de Turenne was at liberty to ſatisfy his revenge by any means whatever, without expoſing his own life. Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon. His life by Marſolier. De Thou. Brantome in the tenth volume of his memoirs, ſpeaking of duels, ſeems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, conſidering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

§ A city of Quercy, upon the confines of Auvergne.

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1580. beſieged, determined them to take arms immediately. The king of Navarre ſent the viſcount Turenne to raiſe the ſiege; who at parting ſaid to me, "Well, Sir, will you be of our party?" "Yes, Sir, I replied, I ſhall be always of your "party, provided it is for the ſervice of the king "my maſter, and yours at all times, when you "favour me with your friendſhip."

The catholics, ſurpriſed at our diligence, abandoned Figeac; and the war being now begun by the huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only ſucceeded *. Theſe were Fere in Picardy, Montagu in Poitou, and Cahors. At this laſt I was preſent, for which reaſon, as well as that of all the towns attacked by petard and undermining, this was the moſt remarkable, I ſhall give ſome account of it.

Cahors † is a large and populous city, ſurrounded on three ſides by water. § Veſins, who was governor of it, had above two thouſand men, beſides a hundred horſe, under his command; and he obliged the citizens alſo to take arms. He kept himſelf upon his guard like a man who expected to be attacked; which we diſcovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had wrote theſe few words with his own hand, "A fig for the "huguenots." The king of Navarre, whoſe little army was weakened by the abſence of Chouppes, and who ſaw no means of opening himſelf a paſſage but by petard and undermining, did not, however, deſpair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the ſoldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepeliſſe, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres ‖; but the whole did not amount to

* See all theſe expeditions particularly related in D'Aubigné, Vol. II. book iv.

† The river of Lot waſhes its walls.

§ The ſame who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It is thought, that if he had not been ſlain in the attack, at the head of his people, the king of Navarre would not have made himſelf maſter of the place.

‖ Towns in Quercy.

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more than fifteen hundred men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, the weather extremely hot, with violent thunder, but no rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut trees, where a fountain of running-water afforded us some refreshment. Here he settled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardeers belonging to the viscount Gourdon *, the chief contriver of this enterprize, followed by ten of the bravest soldiers in the king's guards, marched before us, to open a passage into the city. They were sustained by twenty others, and thirty horse of the king's guards likewise, under the conduct of St. Martin †, their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure §, and sixty soldiers of the guard composed another body, in which I was, and marched afterwards. The king of Navarre, at the head of two hundred men, divided into four bands, came next; the remainder of his little army, which made a body of about one thousand or twelve hundred arquebusiers, in six platoons, closed the march. 1580.

We had three gates to force; these we made haste to throw down with the petard, after which we made use of hatchets. The breaches were so low, that the first who entered were obliged to creep through upon their hands and feet. At the noise of the petard, forty men armed, and about two hundred arquebusiers, ran almost naked to dispute our entry; mean time the bells rung the alarm, to warn every body to stand to their defence. In a moment the houses were cover'd with soldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and stones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge, "kill them." We soon found, that they were resolved to receive us boldly; it was necessary,

* — de Terride, viscount of Gourdon.

† Charles le Clerc de St. Martin. He was slain there.

§ Antony de Roquelaure.

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1580. therefore, at firſt, to ſuſtain an encounter, which laſted above a quarter of an hour, and was very terrible. I was caſt to the ground by a large ſtone that was thrown out of a window; but by the aſſiſtance of the Sieur de la Bertichere, and La Trape, my valet de chambre, I recovered, and reſumed my poſt. All this time we advanced very little, for freſh platoons immediately ſucceeded thoſe that fled before us; ſo that before we gained the great ſquare, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuiſſes being looſened, I was wounded in the left thigh. At laſt we got to the ſquare, which we found barricaded, and with infinite labour we demoliſhed thoſe works, being all the time expoſed to the continual diſcharge of the artillery, which the enemy had formed into a battery.

The king of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all theſe attacks; he had two pikes broke, and his armour was battered in ſeveral places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but ſo much remained to do, that the battle ſeemed only to be juſt begun; the city being of large extent, and filled with ſo great a number of ſoldiers, that we in compariſon of them were but a handful. At every croſs-way we had a new combat to ſuſtain, and every ſtone houſe we were obliged to ſtorm; each inch of ground was ſo well defended, that the king of Navarre had occaſion for all his men, and we had not a moment's leiſure to take breath.

It is hardly credible that we could endure this violent exerciſe for five whole days and nights; during which time, not one of us durſt quit his poſt for a ſingle moment, take any nouriſhment, but with his arms in his hand; or ſleep, except for a few moments leaning againſt the ſhops. Fatigue, faintneſs, the weight of our arms, and the exceſſive heat, joined to the pain of our wounds, deprived

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deprived us of the little remainder of our ſtrength; our feet ſcorched with heat, and bleeding in many places, gave us agonies impoſſible to be expreſſed. 1580.

The citizens, who ſuffered none of theſe inconveniencies, and who became every minute more ſenſible of the ſmallneſs of our numbers, far from ſurrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the fight till the arrival of ſome ſuccours, which they ſaid were very near: they ſent forth great cries, and animated each other by our obſtinacy. Tho' their defence was weak, yet they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which completed our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers went to the king, and adviſed him to aſſemble as many men as he could about his perſon, and open himſelf a retreat. They redoubled their inſtances at the report which was ſpread, and which they found to be true, that the ſuccours expected by the enemy were arrived at the bar, and would be ſo ſoon in the city, that he would have but juſt time to force the wall, and ſecure himſelf a paſſage. But this brave prince, whoſe courage nothing was ever able to ſuppreſs, turning towards them with a ſmiling countenance, and air ſo intrepid, as might have inſpired courage into the moſt puſillanimous heart: "'Tis heaven, "ſaid he, which dictates what I ought to do upon "this occaſion; remember then, that my retreat "out of this city, without having ſecured one alſo "to my party, ſhall be the retreat of my ſoul "from my body. My honour requires this of "me; ſpeak therefore to me of nothing but fighting, conqueſt, or death."

Animated by theſe words, and the example of ſo brave a leader, we began to make new efforts; but in all probability, we ſhould at laſt have been wholly defeated, but for the arrival of Chouppes *, whom the king had the precaution to ſend for before the attack: he, having underſtood the danger

* Peter de Chouppes.

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1580. Henry was in, opened himſelf a paſſage into the city, with five or ſix hundred foot, and a hundred horſe, trampling over the enemy as he paſſed, who gathered in crouds to obſtruct his way. As ſoon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar, where the enemies ſuccours were endeavouring to enter. All this quarter we forced, and when we had made ourſelves maſters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterprize and retreat; after which, the inhabitants finding themſelves no longer able to reſiſt, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a ſmall iron cheſt in my way, in which I found about four thouſand crowns. In the relation of an action ſo hot, ſo long, and ſo glorious for the young * prince that conducted it, I am obliged to ſuppreſs many circumſtances, and many particular exploits, performed by the king and his officers, which would have the appearance of being fabulous.

The king of Navarre having left Cabrieres † governor in Cahors, returned to Montauban. He defeated likewiſe two or three ſquadrons belonging to the marechal de Biron's army, who was under a neceſſity of ſhutting himſelf up in Marmande. The king, for the greater convenience of taking this city, came to Tonneins ‡; which produced a great many little attacks, the marechal de Biron's ſoldiers making inroads every day into the enemy's country. Henry one day ordered Léſignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them: which was often done. We were followed by a

* Other hiſtorians agree, that this attack laſted five whole days, and that Henry IV. had a great many ſoldiers wounded there, and only ſeventy ſlain M. de Thou's relation of this action is a little different, but our Memoirs deſerve moſt credit.

† Conſult D'Aubigné upon theſe expeditions. Vol. II. book iv.

‡ In Agenois upon the Garone.

hundred

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hundred foot, who lay down on the ſhore of a rivulet not far from us; and the king, with three hundred horſe, and two companies of his guards, concealed himſelf in a wood at a ſmall diſtance. Our orders were to fire our piſtols only, and to endeavour to take any of the ſoldiers whom we ſhould find without the walls, and retire towards the little body of foot when they began to purſue us. Accordingly, as ſoon as we ſaw ourſelves ready to be attacked by a hundred horſe, who came out of the city, we marched off, tho' they inſultingly called out to us to ſtay. An officer of our troop, named Quaſy, hearing himſelf defied by name, could not reſtrain his indignation, but turned his horſe's bridle, and ſhot his challenger dead: he loſt his horſe, however, and regained his brigade on foot. Upon ſeeing him attacked by the enemy's party, who were enraged at the death of their comrade, we marched immediately to his aſſiſtance: and now ſo fierce a combat enſued, that one of our valets, ſeized with terror, fled, and carried the alarm to the king of Navarre; telling him, that we, and the whole party of foot were put to the ſword. This he ſaid without the leaſt foundation; for the enemy, on the contrary, ſeeing the body of foot, who came out of their ambuſcade to ſecond us, fearing ſome ſtratagem, and ſuppoſing that the whole army would fall upon them, retreated precipitately into the city. 1580.

It was with great difficulty, that they could reſtrain the ardent Henry from ruſhing upon the enemy's army to revenge us, and periſhing glorioufly; but they made him ſuch preſſing inſtances to retire, that he conſented to it at laſt, tho' with infinite regret. His aſtoniſhment was extremely great when he ſaw us, and his grief ſtill greater for having yielded to counſellors too timid; eſpecially when he ſaw Léſignan, who complained bitterly that he had been abandoned upon this occaſion.

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1580. As for me, I loſt an horſe in the action, which was killed under me.

The king of Navarre's diſcontent was greatly increaſed by the bad news that was brought him. The prince of Condé, not ſatisfied with having corrupted ſome of his troops, and openly ſeparating from his party, had drawn ſeveral towns of Dauphiny and Languedoc into his intereſt, and took them from Henry to compoſe a ſovereignty for himſelf. Aigueſmortes and Pecais *, he had engaged to prince Caſimir as ſecurities for the forces this prince had promiſed: and very lately, he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Fere † in Picardy; the loſs of which ſenſibly affected the king of Navarre. His army, already much inferior to that of the catholics, he was now obliged to diſmember, and ſent Turenne againſt the prince of Condé, who ſoon diſconcerted all his projects: as for himſelf, being no longer able to keep the field before the marechal Biron, he ſhut himſelf up in Nerac; in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, and as brilliant as ever, notwithſtanding the bad condition of the king's affairs.

This retreat gave a new face to the war; it could neither be called a campaign, nor a ſiege, but it was both together. Biron, judging the ſiege of this place to be an enterprize for which he had not ſufficient ſtrength, ſought only to keep us in continual alarm, by ſurrounding it with all his troops; and the king of Navarre, tho' blocked up in the city, did not however fail to ſhew himſelf open in the field. The gates of the city were kept ſhut by his orders, his cavalry therefore was of no uſe to him; and our only reſource was to aſſemble in ſmall parties, and ſally out by the private doors, to attack the ſeparate detachments of the royal army, and ſometimes we would advance to the

* Towns in Languedoc.

† It was re-taken immediately by the marechal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the league there is a letter from queen Catherine to the prince of Condé, in which ſhe thanks him for having taken arms againſt the court.

very

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very front of the whole army. I resumed my former condition of a private soldier, and mixing with the officers, performed many of those rash actions, in which there is neither fame nor advantage to be gained; and were likewise severely condemned by the king of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithstanding his anger, he sent Des-Champs and Dominge to rescue me if possible; and at my return calling me rash and presumptuous, he expressly forbid me ever to leave the city without his orders. I confess, I but too justly merited these reproofs; for it is great folly and extravagance to precipitate one's self into inevitable dangers, from whence nothing less than a miracle can extricate one. The marechal de Biron made shew of besieging Nerac; but all ended in a few slight skirmishes, which the ladies beheld from behind the ramparts. The enemy's general had so little respect for them, that he ordered five or six discharges of cannon* to be made, tho' he expected no advantage from it. 1580.

The king of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himself master of Monségur†. Milon, one of his captains, enclosed five hundred weight of powder in a sausisse, which he found means to introduce into a common shore, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates; the end of the sausisse, to which the fire was to be applied, was concealed amongst the grass. When every thing was ready for the playing off this machine, the king permitted us to go and see the effect, which indeed was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midst of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the field. The vaults were all ruined, and a breach being made in the wall, wide enough to admit three men

* Some cannon was discharged against a gate of the city, behind which was the queen of Navarre. At the peace, she procured the government of Guienne to be taken from this marechal.

† In the country of Foix.

a-breast,

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1580. a-breaſt, the city was taken. The enemy ſeeming determined to recover it, the king commanded me to ſhut myſelf up in it with forty gentlemen. We applied ourſelves to the fortifying the place well with paliſades and intrenchments, in the place of thoſe the powder had deſtroyed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithſtanding we were all afflicted with a kind of epidemical diſtemper *, and myſelf more than any other. At length we put the place into ſuch a condition, that we had nothing to apprehend from the enemy; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who by the careſſes with which he loaded me on this occaſion, was deſirous of teaching me to make a juſt diſtinction between military exploits that are authorized by duty, and thoſe which a raſh and miſguided courage ſuggeſts.

It was with pleaſure that I ſaw this prince's favour towards me increaſe every day, and to find that he gave to inclination what he believed he had granted only to his mother's recommendation; who, when dying, preſſed him to take care of my fortune. Some ſlight ſervices I did him this year, he rewarded by the poſt of counſellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with a penſion of two thouſand livres, which at that time was thought very conſiderable. I was then but nineteen years of age, and the fire of youth drew me into a fault which had like to have made me loſe for ever the favour of this prince.

I was at ſupper one night with Beauvais, the ſon of the king of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Uſſeau, who happening to quarrel, reſolved to fight, and intreated me to provide them with the means. Inſtead of immediately acquainting the king of Navarre with their deſign, that prince being very ſolicitous to prevent theſe ſort of combats,

* This diſtemper ſeized them in the reins, the head, and particularly in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in it. De Thou obſerves alſo, that this diſeaſe was the fore-runner of a plague that carried off forty thouſand people in Paris. Book lxxiii.

which

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which a falſe ſenſe of honour made very frequent at that time, I was imprudent enough to promiſe to comply; and after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile them, conducted them myſelf to the meadow where they fought, and each received a very dangerous wound. The king of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely offended with me for the part I had acted in this affair. He ordered me to be ſent for, and told me in a rage, that I inſulted the authority of the ſovereign, even in his own court, and that, were ſtrict juſtice to be done on me, I ſhould loſe my head. Inſtead of repairing my fault by an ingenuous confeſſion of it, I added another ſtill greater: Piqued at this prince's threatning, I anſwered haughtily, That I was neither his ſubject nor his vaſſal; and threatened him, in my turn, with quitting his ſervice. The king diſcovered no other reſentment for this inſolence, than a contemptuous ſilence. I went out of his preſence, with an intention to leave this good prince, and perhaps for ever, had not the princeſſes undertaken to make my peace with the king, who liſtening only to the dictates of his friendſhip for me, contented himſelf with puniſhing me no otherwiſe for my fault, than by treating me, during ſome time, with great coldneſs: at length, when he was convinced of the ſincerity of my repentance, he reſumed his former ſentiments. This inſtance of his goodneſs made me know in what manner ſo worthy a prince ought to be ſerved. I attached myſelf to him more ſtrongly than before, reſolving, from that moment, never to have any other maſter: but I ſaw myſelf removed from him for ſome time, by an imprudent promiſe which I had made to the duke of Alençon. 1580.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK II.

1580. THE queen-mother, whoſe fertile imagination was ever producing ſchemes for the grandeur of her houſe *, and ſtill more employed for her own particular deſigns, having no longer any hope of marrying her youngeſt ſon to the queen of England, turned all her views upon Flanders, of which ſhe undertook to make him ſovereign. She had at firſt made ſeveral ineffectual attempts upon the Dutch; who, thinking they ſhould appeaſe the reſentment of Spain † by chuſing a maſter out of the houſe of Auſtria, decreed that honour to the arch-duke Matthias, notwithſtanding

* M. de Thou, treating of this ſubject, ſays, book xcvi. that before the crown of Poland was offered to the duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was reſolved to make him a ſovereign one way or other, had ſent Francis de Noailles to Selim, then grand ſeignior, to aſk the kingdom of Algiers for this prince; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promiſed him the poſſeſſion of; and as an equivalent for the claim the king of Navarre had to this kingdom, other eſtates in France were to be given him.

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, an account of which will be ſeen in the following part of theſe Memoirs, began by an inſurrection, and a confederacy formed in the year 1566, the deſign of which was to hinder the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in thoſe countries. Manuſcripts in the king's library, marked 9985.

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ſtanding the powerful intrigues of Catherine. The archduke was a weak prince, abſolutely deſtitute of the qualities neceſſary for a ſovereign; upon this occaſion eſpecially, where valour was ſo neceſſary, he behaved in ſuch a manner, as to inſpire the nobility with the utmoſt contempt for him; and by preferring the prince of Orange * openly to all the other lords, and declaring him lieutenant-general of his forces, rendered himſelf completely hateful to them. The Dutch, diſguſted with this new maſter, thought of nothing but freeing themſelves from his power, and caſt their eyes upon Monſieur, brother to the king of France; whom they conſidered as a prince capable of defending them in his own perſon, and procuring them the powerful protection of his country. 1580.

He was at Coutras when the deputies from the United Provinces came to make him this offer: he accepted it joyfully, and deferred his journey to the Low Countries no longer than till he could appear there with a train ſuitable to the dignity of his birth. For this purpoſe, he earneſtly ſolicited the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt the lords and gentlemen of the king of Navarre's party to follow him. The greateſt part of the catholics attached themſelves to him, and the hopes of a ſolid and laſting peace, with which the queen-mother took care to amuſe the proteſtants, was the cauſe that many of thoſe alſo promiſed to attend him.

Fervaques and Rochepot †, two of my kinſmen, engaged themſelves in his party; and, to prevail upon me to follow their example, repreſented to me, that after the loſs I had lately ſuffered by the death of my father, I ſhould take care to recover the ſucceſſion to the viſcount de Gand's ‡ eſtate, who had diſinherited me on account of my religion,

* William of Naſſau, prince of Orange.

† Antony de Silly, lord of Rochepot.

‡ Hugh de Melun, viſcount de Gand, grand-father by the mother's ſide to M. de Sully.

and

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1580. and endeavour to get poſſeſſion of ſeveral other eſtates in Flanders, to which my family was entitled, and which only the protection of a new ſovereign could procure me. To theſe reaſons they added, in the name of Monſieur, a promiſe of twelve thouſand crowns, to furniſh me with an equipage. I yielded to their ſolicitations, and gave my word to go with them. Our expedition was protracted a conſiderable time, on account of ſeveral different affairs; at length all obſtacles * being removed, and the Dutch repeating their intreaties, Monſieur reminding us of our engagement, ſent us orders to join him. When I went to take leave of the king of Navarre, I had a long converſation with him on my departure, and the occaſion of it; which I have never reflected on ſince without the deepeſt gratitude for that generous affection he diſcovered for me, nor without admiration of his penetrating wit, and the juſtneſs of his conjectures. When I mentioned leaving him, "'Tis by this ſtroke, ſaid he, that we "ſhall loſe you; all is over, you will become a "Dutchman and a papiſt." I aſſured him that I would be neither; but that I ſhould have cauſe to reproach myſelf eternally, if by neglecting to cultivate the favour of my relations, and for the ſake of avoiding a little trouble, I ſhould ſee myſelf deprived of thoſe large eſtates that might revert to me from the houſes of Bethune, Melun, and Horn †. I added, that it was this conſideration alone which induced me to join Monſieur, and that

* By the peace concluded at Fleix, a caſtle upon the Dordogne, between the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou. The proteſtants, to whom the laſt war had not been very favourable, conſented to it without any difficulty. The duke of Anjou deſired it with great ardour, in order to proſecute his deſigns upon the Low Countries; it was ſigned in the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for ſecurity, were to be kept by the calviniſts ſix years longer.

† Anne de Melun, the author's mother, was the daughter of Hugo, viſcount of Grand, and of Jane d'Horn.

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only for a little time, after which nothing ſhould be able to prevent my following my inclinations, which were to attach myſelf ſolely to him; and that whenever he had the ſmalleſt occaſion for my ſervice, I would leave Flanders at his firſt order. The king then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he ſhould one day be king of France; and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. An early prepoſſeſſion in favour of theſe pretended prophecies had made me weak enough to give credit to them; but as for the king of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inſpire a contempt for thoſe evil prophets, as he called them, he had within his own mind an oracle more certain, which was a perfect knowledge of the perſon and character of Monſieur, and a ſagacity that opened almoſt futurity to him. "He will deceive me, "ſaid he, if he ever fulfils the expectations that "are conceived of him: he has ſo little courage, "a heart ſo malignant and deceitful, a body ſo "ill made, ſo few graces in his converſation, ſuch "want of dexterity in every kind of exerciſe, "that I cannot perſuade myſelf he will ever per-"form any thing that is great." The king of Navarre had leiſure to ſtudy this prince thoroughly, during the time that they were kept priſoners together. His memory at this inſtant furniſhed him with an infinite number of particulars, that gave him room to believe, Monſieur would infallibly fail in an enterprize ſo noble and hazardous as that he had undertaken. Amongſt others he told me, that Monſieur flung himſelf againſt a pillar in running at the ring, and managed his horſe with ſo little ſkill, that he would have been thrown to the ground, had not his equery with great haſte and ſubtilty cut the reins of his horſe, and ſpared him the ſhame of ſo aukward a fall. That he ſucceeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exerciſe; and far from feeling a juſt conſciouſneſs 1580.

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1580. conſciouſneſs of theſe natural defects, or of repairing them in ſome degree by an ingenuous modeſty, he ſecretly hated all who were more favoured by nature than himſelf; particularly the king of Navarre, who, on account of the preference the ladies gave him to Monſieur, tho' the brother of their king, and his having rivalled this prince in the favour of madam de Sauves *, and other court-quarrels of the ſame nature, became the object of his jealouſy and hate.

Theſe little anecdotes with which he entertained me, tho' inconſiderable in themſelves, yet ceaſed to appear ſo, when the event fully juſtified the concluſions he drew from them. He concluded with telling me, that he plainly perceived Catherine had formed a deſign to exterminate the proteſtant party; and that he ſhould ſoon have occaſion for his faithful ſervants: then embracing me, he wiſhed me a happier journey than our leader's was likely to be. I threw myſelf at his feet, and kiſſing his hand, proteſted that I would ever be ready to ſhed the laſt drop of my blood in his ſervice. I quitted his preſence, to go and pay my reſpects to the queens; after which I took poſt for Roſny.

From hence I ſent Maignan, my equery, to Paris to buy me ſome horſes. I have never ſince

* —— de Beaune of Samblançay, married to Simon de Fizes, baron of Sauves, counſellor, and firſt ſecretary of ſtate, who died November the 27th, 1579. She made this name well known by her gallantries. Her ſecond huſband was the marquis of Noirmoutier. "One night, ſays Matthieu the hiſtorian, when the "duke of Alençon was with her, "the king of Navarre laid a ſnare "for him, ſo that as he came out "he fell againſt ſomething in his "way, and hurt one of his eyes. "The next day the king of Navarre meeting him, exclaimed, "Heavens! what is the matter "with your eye? what accident "has happened to it? The duke "anſwered rudely, It is nothing, "a ſmall matter ſurprizes you. "The other continuing to bemoan "him, the duke being offended, "advanced, and feigning to jeſt, "whiſpered in his ear, Whoever "ſhall ſay I have got it where "you imagine, I will make him a "liar. Souvray and Du Guaſt "hindered them from fighting." Vol. I. book vii. page 409.

had

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had any that equalled two which he brought me: 1580.
One of them was a Spaniſh horſe; he was quite
black, except a white ſpot on his right buttoc.
The other was a Sardinian horſe, to whom nature
had given an inſtinctive quality of defending his
rider; for he would roll his eyes furiouſly, and
ſpring upon the enemy with his mouth open, never
quitting him till he had thrown him to the earth.

Part of the lands belonging to Monſieur extending to the neighbourhood of Roſny, I took occaſion from thence to draw ſome advantage from his offer, and aſked for the remainder of a wood, to be applied to my uſe; which was granted; and it produced me the ſum of forty thouſand franks. With this money, in fifteen days, I fitted out my whole troop, which was compoſed of eighty gentlemen; ſome of whom followed me diſintereſtedly, and others received only two hundred livres at moſt. With this train I went to join Monſieur, who waited for us in his caſtle of La-Fere, in Tartenois; from whence, after ſome time ſpent in deer-hunting, we marched to Saint Quentin, where all his troops were aſſembled.

The prince of Parma * ſurrounded Cambray 1581.
with his whole army, and kept it blocked up.
This afforded an occaſion for the braveſt amongſt us to ſignalize themſelves, and each one was deſirous of commanding the firſt party that ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the diſpoſition into which Fervaques † the quarter-maſter general, who was my relation and friend, had put the army: it procured me, however, no advantage, for I returned without having taken one priſoner, the beſiegers keeping all cloſe behind their lines, although I paſſed near enough to ſuſtain ſeveral diſcharges. The viſcount Turenne ſecretly rejoiced at my diſappointment, be-

* Alexander Farneſe duke of Parma.

† William de Hauterfier de Fervaques.

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1581. cauſe I had refuſed the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the next day. He choſe out one hundred gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray, flattering himſelf that he ſhould perform no inconſiderable exploit. The event did not anſwer his expectations; this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by fourſcore or a hundred men belonging to the regiment of M. de Roubais *, of the houſe of Melun, who ſerved in the enemy's army. Ten or twelve of our party were made priſoners, amongſt whom were Ventadour †, and the viſcount Turenne himſelf.

Mean time Monſieur advanced, with an intention to give battle to the enemy's general; but he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly that we durſt not attempt to force him, and the following night he raiſed the blockade, and retired towards Valenciennes, without the loſs of one ſoldier, leaving the paſſes alſo ſo ſecurely guarded, that he was under no apprehenſion of being over-taken. Monſieur now entered Cambray, and was received with great magnificence by the governor, whoſe name was D'Inchy. Chateau Cambreſis refuſing to ſurrender, was taken by aſſault. Monſieur, willing at firſt to diſcover a gentleneſs that might conciliate the people's affections towards him, forbid, upon pain of ſevere puniſhments, any violence againſt the women, who are generally the miſerable victims of war; but fearing that theſe orders would not be ſufficient to reſtrain the ſoldiers brutality, any more than the plague with which the fort was

* Robert de Melun, Marquis of Roubais. The viſcount Turenne's deſign was to throw himſelf into Cambray. See his Memoirs, p. 311, and following. It is obſerved there, that he choſe rather to be priſoner to the prince de Robecque, general of the Spaniſh cavalry, than to the king of Spain: which was the cauſe that he was detained two years and ten months; for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the viſcount's ranſom, which was fifty-three thouſand crowns, he would quit its ſervice.

† Anne de Levis, afterwards duke of Ventadour, knight of the king's orders, governor of Limoſin, and lieutenant-general in Languedoc. He died in 1622.

infected,

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infected, he gave them the churches for aſylums, and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herſelf into my arms as I was walking in the ſtreets, and holding me faſt, conjured me to guard her from ſome ſoldiers, who, ſhe ſaid, had concealed themſelves as ſoon as they ſaw me. I endeavoured to calm her fears, and offered to conduct her to the next church; but ſhe told me ſhe had been there, and aſked for admittance, which they refuſed, becauſe they knew ſhe had the plague. My blood froze in my veins at this declaration, and anger renewing my ſtrength, I thruſt this girl from my arms, who expoſed me to death, to ſave her, when ſhe carried, in my opinion, her ſecurity about her; and flying away as faſt as I was able, expected every moment to be ſeized with the plague. 1581.

Monſieur having attacked the paſſages of Arleux, and L'Ecluſe, I took ſome priſoners there, whom I ſent back without ranſom, as ſoon as I was informed that they belonged to the marquis de Roubais, my couſin. Roubais, who was not ignorant of my juſt pretenſions to the eſtates of the viſcount de Gand, which he had uſurped, received this generoſity very ill. "By heaven, ſaid he, "theſe civilities are very fine; but if he is taken, "he brings his ranſom along with him." I had reaſon to be apprehenſive of this misfortune, and it would actually have happened to me two days after, at the attack of a wall, if Seſſeval, by a very ſeaſonable charge, had not extricated me from the danger.

The prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monſieur returned to Cambray, where he was guilty of an artifice towards D'Inchy, very unworthy of a great prince, whoſe word ought always to be ſo inviolable, that no perſon ſhould have a thought of ſuſpecting his integrity. He invited himſelf to dinner with this governor, who was at an exceſſive expence to receive

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1581. him in the citadel, in a manner ſuitable to his rank. D'Inchy invited above ſixty of us to attend this prince, and treated us all with equal greatneſs and magnificence. During the repaſt, he was told that Monſieur's guards preſented themſelves at the gates; D'Inchy thinking he ſhould fail in the moſt eſſential part of his reception of Monſieur, if he ſent them back, gave orders for their admittance, and every one elſe that come in that prince's name, who he ſaid, was ſole maſter in the caſtle. He ſpoke indeed prophetically, tho' he did not think ſo at the time; for ſo many made uſe of this privilege, that our party became at laſt the ſtrongeſt, and Monſieur's guards diſarming thoſe of M. D'Inchy, they ſeized upon the caſtle. This exploit was wholly the contrivance of Monſieur, who relied upon that ſincerity in the governor, which he himſelf was not poſſeſſed of. As ſoon as D'Inchy was ſenſible of his misfortune, he complained bitterly of it to Monſieur, who anſwered him only with an inſulting ſmile upon the accent of his country, which was Picardy; and obliging him to quit the caſtle, which he gave to Balagny *, thought he made D'Inchy ſufficient amends by the gift of the town and dutchy of Chateau-Thierry; but that gentleman, who perceived the difference between what was given him, and what he had been deprived of, reſigned himſelf up to deſpair, and ſeeking death found it ſoon after in a ſkirmiſh.

After this Monſieur returned to France, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries to the contrary, who aſſured him, that after five or ſix fortreſſes more were taken, the only important ones that remained, all Flanders would ſubmit to him. His deſign in going to France was to make preparations for his voyage to England, whether he went a little time after.

* John de Montluc, natural of Valence; he is mentioned ſon of John de Montluc, biſhop hereafter.

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The reception he met with from queen Elizabeth *, and the engagement he contracted with her, having been mentioned by all the hiſtorians, I ſhall take no notice of them here, tho' I attended him in this voyage. From England Monſieur again returned to Zealand; flattered with a thouſand agreeable hopes. He came to Lillo †, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was crowned duke of Brabant by the prince of Orange, aſſiſted by the prince Dauphin ‡, and all the nobility of the Low Countries, who expreſſed their joy on this occaſion, a thouſand different ways. This affection of the Dutch towards Monſieur had but a ſhort duration. The prince of Orange, who only was more beloved by the people than him, was wounded in his chamber by a piſtol ſhot ‖. The populace, who thought none but the French could be guilty of this action, mutinied, and would have fallen upon them; and Monſieur could find ſecurity no where but in the houſe of the wounded perſon, whither he fled for refuge. When the true author of this intended aſſaſſination ** was diſcovered, there was no ſort of excuſes or atonement which the burgeſſes did not offer Monſieur for the injuſtice of 1582.

* It is well known that the queen of England allowed ſeveral of the princes of Europe to flatter themſelves in this manner with hopes of marrying her; and whether policy, or reaſons purely natural, was the cauſe that ſhe never came to any concluſion, is a queſtion not eaſy to decide. Monſieur went to England in the winter of 1581, and returned to Flanders the ſpring following. See an account of this voyage, and of all the negociations concerning this marriage at length, in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 474, 603.

† A fort upon the Scheld.

‡ Francis of Bourbon, ſon to the duke of Montpenſier,

‖ The 18th of March 1582, by John de Jaureguy. The ball went quite through his jaw. The aſſaſſin was taken by the ſoldiers of the prince of Orange, who ruſhed in at the noiſe, juſt as he was drawing his poignard to diſpatch him. Chron. Piniſcki.

** By the papers that were found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard: this it was that appeaſed the people, who were ready to put all the French to the ſword. Mem. D'Aubery du Maurier. The people ran about the ſtreet, crying, Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill theſe murderers. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. to the end.

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1582. their ſuſpicions, and the revolt they had occaſioned; but this outrage made a deep impreſſion on his heart, and he reſolved within himſelf to take a ſignal revenge for it. The prince of Orange was not a man that could be eaſily deceived; he began from that moment to be upon his guard; for he perceived the reſentment with which he was fired, and the rooted hatred he bore to proteſtants in general.

As for me, I had already received perſonal proofs of it, which, added to other cauſes of complaint that were given me by Monſieur, abſolutely diſguſted me with his ſervice. At firſt I attached myſelf ſolely to his perſon, and to pleaſe him ſpared neither labour nor expence; I thought therefore that I might ſolicit his intereſt with regard to my pretenſions to the eſtate of the viſcount de Gand, which reverted to me. He received my requeſt very coldly, put me off with delays, and at laſt, when I preſt him one day on the ſubject, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two perſons at the ſame time; and that my couſin * the prince of Epinoy had obtained, without any trouble, what I had laboured for with ſo much aſſiduity. There was ſomething in this anſwer more diſobliging than the refuſal itſelf; I was ſenſibly affected with it, and a few days after had a convincing proof of the little ſhare myſelf, and the other proteſtant officers had in his favour, when I heard him ſay publicly, that he had juſt baniſhed D'Avantigny from his council, the laſt of the proteſtants to whom he confided his ſecrets, and he was now perfectly eaſy. From that time I reſolved to quit this ungrateful prince; and while I waited for an opportunity to return into France, applied myſelf to gain the favour of the prince of Orange, in whom I found

* Robert de Melun prince of Epinoy, ſon to the marquis of Richebourg.

all

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all thoſe qualities in which Monſieur was deficient. 1582.
I remember, a few days before the treacherous attempt upon Antwerp, that I was at this prince's palace with Sainte Aldegonde *, and a miniſter named Villiers; when, ſpeaking of Monſieur and the catholics, by whom he was governed, he ſaid, "Theſe men have deſigns pernicious both for "themſelves and us, in which, it is my opinion, "they will not find their account; and I intreat "you, ſir, added he, turning to me, not to go "far from my lodgings." He thought very juſtly; and his diligence finiſhing what his foreſight had begun, Monſieur ſuffered the double reproach of unſucceſsful treachery †.

Having aſſembled his army in the plain, under pretence of reviewing it, he went out of Antwerp one day in February, and ordered his ſoldiers to enter the city again by thoſe gates that were at his diſpoſal, and to make themſelves maſters of it by force. Accordingly his men threw themſelves into Antwerp, as into a city taken by aſſault, crying out, "Kill, kill, the city is ours; maſs for ever." But their triumph laſted not long: the prince of Orange, who carefully obſerved every ſtep of Monſieur's, gave ſuch good orders every where, or rather cauſed thoſe he had long before given, to be ſo well executed, that Monſieur's ſoldiers were all either repulſed, cut in pieces, or forced to throw themſelves off the walls; for their terror was ſo great, that thoſe who could not get to the gates, becauſe of the great number of carcaſes that obſtructed their way, had recourſe to that dreadful expedient. I had mounted my horſe two hours after noon, to go and

* Philip Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde.

† About that time the ſame attempt was made by Monſieur's orders, on the principal cities of Flanders; the plot ſucceeded upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde, but failed upon Bruges, Oſtend, Nieuport, &c. De Thou, book lxxvii. The duke of Montpenſier, and the marſhal Biron endeavoured in vain to diſſuade Monſieur from this enterprize. Matthieu, ibid.

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1583. join Monſieur in the field; but before I got out of the city, the loud ſhouts of the aſſailants ſtruck my ears, and in the ſame moment I met the prince of Orange, who deſired me and ſome other French gentlemen of the reformed religion, who were with me, to retire to his lodgings. As Frenchmen we could not expect to be ſafe at that time in the city, and, as huguenots, we had every thing to fear from the French army, who had taken poſſeſſion of it. We followed his advice, therefore, and he returned to us as ſoon as he had reſtored quiet to the city. The care he took to pacify the Flemiſh, and prevail upon them to forget a behaviour ſo inexcuſable, is a proof that he bore with regret, and only in his own defence, an action which no Frenchman diſapproved of. It was not his fault that the proteſtant party in Flanders was not reconciled to Monſieur; and as for us, as ſoon as he knew we intended to join this prince, he put us into a condition to do it without danger.

We found ourſelves greatly perplexed in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, whoſe inhabitants, by opening their ſluices, had formed a large marſh. Four or five thouſand foot, and as many horſe of Monſieur's army, periſhed there by cold and hunger, in a moſt rigorous ſeaſon. Monſieur, however, ſtaid five or ſix months in Flanders after this fatal enterprize: but his army had been ſo conſiderably leſſened, and the remainder ſo broken with fatigue, the cities ſo well guarded, and, to compleat his misfortunes, the prince of Parma returned with an army ſo vaſtly ſuperior to his, that he was at laſt obliged to go back to France with the duke de Montpenſier, and the marechal de Biron, leaving nothing behind him in the Low Countries but the remembrance of a name juſtly deteſtable.

A prince who has not prudence enough to conceal his hatred of perſons whoſe ſervices become neceſſary to him, muſt be unhappy; but this muſt be

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be owned, to the advantage of virtue, that it ſecures, by the moſt infallible means, the ſucceſs of all great enterprizes. Wiſdom, equity, diſcipline, order, courage, good fortune; qualities which ſucceed each other in the order they are mentioned, form the chain of action in truly great men. The proceedings of thoſe who unjuſtly arrogate to themſelves that title, offer, on the contrary, nothing but raſhneſs and obſtinacy, the companions of blind ambition. A vain confidence in their talents, preſumptuous dependance on their good fortune; all conſequences of flattery, which generally enſlaves no perſons ſo much as thoſe falſe heroes who think themſelves born to ſubject the whole world. 1583.

I could not reſolve to leave Flanders without viewing thoſe places where my anceſtors were born; and having procured a paſſport from the count of Barlaymont *, I went to Baſſée, to viſit madam de Maſtin, my aunt. She received me as a nephew whom ſhe had diſinherited, becauſe he neither believed in God nor his ſaints, and worſhipped the devil. This notion father Silveſter, a cordelier, a famous preacher, and this lady's director, had thought proper to give her of all proteſtants; and ſhe took it upon his word. She carried me with her to ſee an abbey ſhe had founded; and as ſhe was ſhewing me ſome fine tombs of my anceſtors, which ſhe had cauſed to be erected there, took occaſion to ſpeak to me on the ſubject of my faith. If I was aſtoniſhed to hear her utter theſe extravagant whims that father Silveſter had put into her head, ſhe was no leſs ſurpriſed to hear me repeat the creed, and all thoſe prayers which we uſe in common with the roman catholics. With her reaſon, nature was alſo awakened; her great ſimplicity was the cauſe of the little tenderneſs ſhe had ſhewn me. She embraced me with tears in her

* Claude de Barlaymont, lord of Hautepenne.

eyes,

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1583. eyes, and promiſed me not only the certain ſucceſſion to her eſtates, but alſo engaged to get thoſe of the viſcount de Gand reſtored to me. This at the time was her ſincere intention; but father Silveſter, no doubt, found better reaſons to prevent the effect of thoſe good deſigns, for none of them were ever executed.

I had an earneſt deſire to ſee the city of Bethune, the country, and ancient inheritance of my anceſtors, who for a long time were in poſſeſſion of very conſiderable eſtates there. The treachery Monſieur had uſed towards the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries ſuſpicious; they would not ſuffer me to enter Bethune till I had ſhewn my paſſport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from madam de Maſtin; which produced an effect I little expected: I had taken the road to an inn, whoſe ſign was the coronet of the family of Bethune, when I ſaw a platoon of foot approach, that gave me ſome apprehenſions. It was, however, the burgeſſes of the city, who, full of reſpect for the blood of their ancient lords, no ſooner heard my name, than they reſolved to pay me all poſſible honours, and brought me a preſent of wine, and other refections. Before I left this city, I viſited and examined with great exactneſs, and a ſecret pleaſure, all the public and private monuments which preſerved to poſterity the remembrance of the benefits my anceſtors had conferred on this city, and its gratitude for them.

Having nothing more to detain me in Flanders, I returned to France, and took the direct road to Roſny, which I left immediately, and went to Guyenne, full of joy to meet again the king of Navarre after ſo long an abſence. This prince's reception of me was ſuch as left me no room to doubt that my return was very acceptable to him. He obliged me to relate all my adventures, and thoſe of Monſieur, and when I had finiſhed,

"Well,

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" Well, ſaid he to me, is not this the accompliſh- 1583.
" ment of all I predicted of this prince, in my
" converſation with you at Coutras? but the viſ-
" count de Turenne, whom I diſſuaded as much
" as poſſible from following him, has ſucceeded
" much worſe than you."

Monſieur's expedition into the Low Countries had enraged the king of Spain to ſuch a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the king of Navarre's friendſhip, and offer him ſupplies for renewing the war with the royaliſts of France. This propoſition he received at Hagemau, whither he went to viſit the counteſs of Guiche *; for his paſſion for this lady was then at its height. The diſtruſt Henry always entertained of Spain, and his natural antipathy to that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to anſwer for the ſincerity of the Spaniards in theſe offers, which were made him at different times by Bernardin de Mandoce, the chevalier Moreau, and Calderon; however, I believe there were ſome intervals, in which the king of Spain dealt faithfully with the king of Navarre †. But be that as it will, the king of Navarre gave no anſwer to this propoſition, and made no other uſe of it, than to convince the king and queen-mother of the juſtice of his deſigns. He ſent me there-

* Diana, or Coriſande Dandoins, viſcounteſs of Lovigny, &c. wife, and afterwards widow, of Philibert Count of Grammont. In the obſervations upon the amours of Alcander the great, this lady is ſaid to have ſent Henry IV. three or four and twenty thouſand Gaſcons, levied at her own expence. It is alſo mentioned there, that ſhe had a ſon named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own; but the young man replied, that he choſe rather to be conſidered as a gentleman than the baſtard of a king. Journal of Henry the third's reign, page 270.

† That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the king of Spain's, preſented to the king of Navarre by the chevalier Moreau, or the commandeur Morrée, as Davilla calls him, book II. was added an offer of fifty thouſand crowns, made by the ſame chevalier to the viſcount de Chaux, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the king of Navarre's army; provided he would turn his arms againſt France. Mem. of the League, vol. V.

fore

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1583. fore to Paris, to inform them of the ſtep which Spain had taken.

There was no longer any acceſs to be had to the king; he had retired to Vincennes, where he ſaw none but his favourites, and the miniſters of his pleaſures. I expected to have been introduced to him by the queen of Navarre; for this princeſs, whoſe temper could not agree with that of the king her huſband, had * left him to return to the court of France: but I learnt from madam de Bethune, that ſhe was on no better terms with the queen her mother, and the king her brother. I then had recourſe to madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair ſeemed to her to be important; ſhe mentioned it to the king, and a negotiation was begun there. I even obtained from his majeſty, a credential letter to the king of Navarre; but what reliance ought one to have on the determinations of a court, that, as it ſhould ſeem, never formed a good deſign that was not immediately repented of? The queen-mother thought fit to make no other uſe of the king of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a ſtricter union with Spain: which came to Henry's knowledge by the reproaches the king of Spain made him, for having betrayed his ſecret.

The bad reception Monſieur met with at his return from Flanders, was one effect of this reconciliation with Spain. This prince retired to Chateau-Thierry, oppreſſed with grief. After my deputation was finiſhed, being at home, and engaged in no employment, curioſity led me to viſit Monſieur at Chateau-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune would have made him wiſer; but it had only

* From that time they always lived ſeparate, notwithſtanding the reproaches which Henry III. often made the king of Navarre on that occaſion, and ſome others that are mentioned by L'Etoile. One day, when the latter received ſome very ſharp letters from Henry III. "The king, ſaid he, in all his "letters, honours me greatly; for "by the firſt he calls me C—, and "by the laſt the ſon of P—."

abated

abated his pride. He received me with a kindneſs that I was far from thinking diſintereſted, and from which I immediately concluded, he had ſome great deſigns in his head. The advantageous offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who had procured me the honour of kiſſing his hand, convinced me I was not miſtaken; but, amidſt the great projects * with which Monſieur was intoxicated, I diſcovered a melancholy and ſecret diſcontent that preyed upon his heart, and which nothing could remove. From hence proceeded that languiſhing diſorder, which ſome time after put an end to all his ambitious deſigns by death †. 1583.

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the king of Navarre to come to him upon ſome very important affairs. He was endeavouring to diſconcert, if poſſible, all the enterprizes of the league; a deſign, which this wiſe prince had always in view. He had occaſion for a perſon on whoſe probity he could rely, to reſide at the court of France, and ſtudy all its motions; and it was to charge me with this commiſſion, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflexions to me, gave me all the neceſſary inſtructions, and when I took leave of him, embraced me ſeveral times, ſaying, "My friend, remember, that the firſt quality in a man of true courage and worth, is to keep his word inviolably; that which I have given to you, I will

* Monſieur took the titles of ſon of France, by the grace of God, duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxembourg, Guelderland, Alençon, Anjou, Tourain, Berry, Evreux, and Chateau Thierry, count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zulphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beaufort, marquis of the holy Roman empire, lord of Frieſland, and Mechlin, defender of the Belgic liberty. Hercules was the name that was given him at his baptiſm, but when he was confirmed, it was changed to Francis.

† There is not any hiſtorian who doubts that he died by poiſon. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burſt. De Thou, book lxxviii. "This happened, ſays the Memoirs of Nevers, by his having lain with La— who made him ſmell a poiſoned noſegay." Ibid. p. 163. Buſbeq, Ep. 33, 35.

"never

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1583. "never fail in." There was no neceſſity for racking my invention, to furniſh me with a pretence for this ſecond journey to Paris. The favour in which I had left my two younger brothers * at that court, afforded me a very plauſible one. They had begun to create jealouſy in the favourites, for the king already made them his companions in his parties of devotion, which was a ſtep that was likely to lead them to the greateſt familiarity; however, on my arrival, I learned that they were diſgraced; the reaſon of which I did not know till a long time after, and it is of the number of thoſe things † that ought to be buried in oblivion. This accident did not hinder me from entering upon my new employment at Paris, and the court. I gave the king of Navarre exact intelligence of all that paſſed, that he might take ſuch meaſures as were moſt ſuitable to the ſtate of his affairs.

Engaged in this new kind of life, which obliged me by the nature of the employment I had undertaken, to frequent the court, to mix in the politeſt company of the city, to ſhare in their amuſements, their pleaſures, and even to be infected with their idleneſs; and being beſides in the prime and ſtrength of my age, it is not ſtrange that I ſhould pay the accuſtomed tribute to love. I became violently enamoured of the daughter of the preſident de St. Meſmin, one of the moſt beautiful ladies in France.

At firſt, I wholly abandoned myſelf to a paſſion, which, in the beginning, is ſo delightful, that when I would have ſtifled it afterwards, upon reflecting that this alliance was not convenient for me, I found that conſideration too weak, when oppoſed

* Solomon and Philip de Bethune. The firſt as eldeſt, was called baron of Roſny, and was governor of Mante. The ſecond has formed the branch of the counts of Selles and Charoſt. By attaching themſelves to the perſon and party of the king of France, they both abjured the proteſtant religion, in which they had been educated.

† Thoſe who are curious to know it, need only conſult the ſeventh chapter of the Confeſſion of Sancy.

to

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to the friendſhip this whole family expreſſed for me, the eſteem of a father truly reſpectable, and the charms of a miſtreſs worthy my tendereſt affection. My own endeavours alone would not have been ſufficient to have broken this chain. La Fond *, to divert the courſe of my thoughts, propoſed to me to viſit Mademoiſelle de Courtenay †, whom he earneſtly wiſhed I would make my addreſſes to, as a perſon who, in all reſpects, was much more ſuitable to me. I ſaw her, and approved this choice; but Mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin ſoon deſtroyed all theſe wiſe reflections. 1583.

Being one day at Nogent upon the Seine, attended by this La Fond, and ſome other perſons, I went to lodge at an inn, whither chance had conducted both mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, and mademoiſelle de Courtenay, which I learnt the moment I entered the inn. This was one of the moſt delicate conjunctures imaginable, and I judged it would be impoſſible to leave the place without breaking for ever with that lady of the two, to whom I ſhould neglect to pay my firſt viſit and aſſiduities. In a caſe of this nature, no artifice, no addreſs can ſatisfy two women at the ſame time.

Mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin's youngeſt ſiſter coming down ſtairs at that moment, found me abſorbed in reflection, like a man that was labouring to reconcile his reaſon with his love. She perceived it, and my confuſion affording her a fine opportunity to diſplay the vivacity of her wit, ſhe endeavoured to draw me to her ſiſter's feet; when La Fond approaching me, whiſper'd in my ear, "Turn to the right, monſieur: there you will "find a large eſtate, a royal extraction, and equal "beauty, when it ſhall have attained to the age "of perfection." Theſe few words, ſo ſeaſonably uttered, recalled my ſcattered reaſon, and fixed my

* La Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

† Anne de Courtenay, youngeſt daughter of Francis de Courtenay, lord of Bontin.

wavering

1583. wavering purpoſe. I was convinced the advice La Fond gave me was good, and that the only difference between the beauty of mademoiſelle de Courtenay, and her rival, was, that the one was already in the poſſeſſion of charms, which a year or two more promiſed the other. I ſent an excuſe for not attending mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, which drew upon me great reproaches; but I courageouſly ſuſtained the aſſault, and went immediately after to viſit mademoiſelle de Courtenay, who valued this ſacrifice at its full price. She was pleaſed with the preference; and I applauded myſelf for it, when I conſidered my new miſtreſs with more attention, and that a few viſits more had given me a perfect knowledge of her character. My addreſſes were favourably received, and a ſhort time after this adventure we were married *.

The tenderneſs and aſſiduity due to an amiable bride, detained me in Roſny this whole year, amidſt rural employments, exerciſes, and diverſions; another kind of life not leſs new to me than the former. The country, to thoſe whoſe time has been divided between the court and the field, is generally an occaſion of double expence; but it affords many reſources to a man, who knows that good oeconomy ſupplies the place of great riches. My turn for fine horſes, which I had cultivated meerly for my pleaſure, did not make up a uſeleſs part of this domeſtic oeconomy. I kept jockeys in my ſervice, whom I ſent to buy horſes in foreign countries, where they were cheap, and ſold them in Gaſcony, at the king of Navarre's court, where I never failed to draw large ſums for them. I remember to have ſold, amongſt others, a ſilver roan-horſe to the viſcount de Chartres, for ſix hundred crowns, which coſt me but forty. The tapeſtry which adorns the hall of Sully, in which are

* Guy de Bethune, ſon of Alpin de Bethune, great grandfather of M. de Roſny, had married one Frances de Courtenay Bontin.

delineated

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delineated the labours of Hercules, came from M. de Nemours de la Garnache, who paid me with that for a fine Spaniſh horſe that I had ſold to him at the rate of twelve hundred crowns. 1584.

Towards the end of this year *, a letter from the king of Navarre drew me from a life ſo inactive: he informed me, that the time in which he had foreſeen that the aſſiſtance of his faithful ſervants would be neceſſary, was now come: that the ſtate and our religion were threatened with the ſevereſt misfortunes, if immediate endeavours were not uſed to prevent them; and that he ſhould ſoon have a cruel war to ſuſtain. I inſtantly diſpoſed myſelf to attend this prince, taking with me, as well for his occaſions, as my own, forty eight thouſand francs, which I raiſed by the ſale of a wood of high trees, that was cut down for that purpoſe.

* The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the king of Navarre. Le Grain relates the adventure that happened to him with captain Michau, who pretended to have quitted the ſervice of Spain for that of this prince, in order to find ſome opportunity of murdering him treacherouſly. "One day, ſays he, when the "king of Navarre was hunting in "the foreſts of Aillas, he perceived Michau juſt behind him, "well mounted, with a couple of "piſtols cocked and primed. The "king was alone and unattended, "it being cuſtomary for hunters "to ſeparate; and ſeeing him approach, "Captain Michau, ſaid "he to him, with a bold and determined air, diſmount; I have "a mind to make trial of your "horſe, that I may know if it be "as good a one as you ſay it is." "The captain obeyed, and diſmounting, the king got upon "his horſe, and taking the piſtols, "Do you deſign to ſhoot me with "one of theſe? ſaid he: I am "told, you intend to kill me, but "in the mean time I can kill you "if I pleaſe." Saying this, he "diſcharged the two piſtols in the "air, and commanded the captain "to follow him. Michau, having "good reaſons to deſire to be excuſed, took leave of him two "days after, and never after appeared." Decade of Henry the great, book viii. Buſbeq, who at that time reſided at Paris, in the quality of ambaſſador from the emperor Rodolphus II. aſſures us alſo, in his Letters, that a deſerter, whom he does not name, adminiſtred poiſon to the king of Navarre; but that this prince, either by the ſtrength of his conſtitution, or the weakneſs of the poiſon, felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that this ſame man having attempted afterwards to ſhoot him with a piſtol, and failed, was taken and put to the torture; and that it was known, by the behaviour of Henry III. upon this occaſion, that he had no part in the deſigned aſſaſſination. Epiſtle 76.

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1585. In effect, the bold enterprises of the league † broke out this year. One cannot reflect without

† The first step which discovered the designs of the league, was an association of princes, prelates, and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to avoid obeying the edict of sixty-three articles, given in the year 1576, in favour of the protestants. The manifesto that was there drawn up, served for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the states of Blois, which were summoned about the end of that year, and whose resolutions obliged Henry III. to declare himself the head of the catholics against the huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be assumed by the duke of Guise. At first, they talked only of maintaining the catholic religion alone in the kingdom, but at length a debate concerning the succession to the crown was introduced, in which they brought the pope and king of Spain. See the form of these associations in the MS. volume marked 8826, in the king's library, p. 160. The conspiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preserve the catholic religion in France, and the crown to the house of Valois, see in vol. 8832. p. 5. All this volume is likewise filled with Memoirs relating to the league, and the first states of Blois. See also the treaty the league made with the king of Spain at the castle of Joinville, and signed by the respective parties, with many other pieces on the same subject, vol. 8866. All, or part of these pieces, with very curious circumstances relating to the same subject, may be found in different authors, such as the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of state by Villeroy, vol. II. De Thou, book lxiii. and lxxxi. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book iii. ch. 3. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. and viii. Le Novennaire de Cayet, vol. I. at the beginning; and many others. Many persons believe the origine of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its rise in the council of Trent, through the endeavours of the cardinal of Lorrain, the uncle; during which Francis duke of Guise on his side formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter suspended the effect. 'Tis pretended also, that Don John of Austria passing through France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the scheme with the duke of Guise. The college of Forteret has passed for the cradle of the league. 'Tis said that an advocate, named David, carried the Memoirs to Rome; and that these Memoirs, which may be read in the first volume of the Memoirs of the league, being intercepted by the huguenots, gave them the first certainty of it. Some persons have doubted whether this advocate, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others say, in his return from thence, did not treat with the pope by his own motion, and agreeably to his own opinion: which is not less probable. As for Henry III. he certainly deserves all the reproaches which the duke of Sully here casts upon him. He had undeniable proofs of his enemies designs upon the royal authority; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he said aloud these words, "I am much "afraid, that by our endeavours to "suppress calvinism, we shall bring "the mass into danger." We are assured, that all the secrets of the league were discovered by a gentleman named La Rochette, to whom they were entrusted, and who suffered himself to be taken on purpose, that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, 'tis also certain, that the Duke of Guise began to raise the standard of his party in the year 1585, when he was still so weak, that he could not depend upon more than four thousand foot and a thousand horse.

horror,

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horror, that in leſs than four years, ten royal armies fell upon the king of Navarre, when the danger that equally threatened the two kings was turned againſt him alone, through the weakneſs of Henry III. who allowed his own enemies to give laws to him, and conducted himſelf the hand that fought to overthrow his authority. 1585.

Henry III. perceiving the league would publicly raiſe the ſtandard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to ſend the duke de Joyeuſe * into Normandy, to oppoſe the duke d'Elbœuf †, who kept an army there, which the league made uſe of to extort the famous edict of July ‡, wherein all the huguenots were ordered, either to go to maſs, or to leave the kingdom in ſix months.

Joyeuſe, who had my two brothers in his army, paſſed by Roſny, and prevailed upon me, without much difficulty, to go with him: by attacking the league, the friends of the king of Navarre entered into his true intereſts. I gave him the beſt reception in my power, but nothing charmed him ſo much as the beauty of my horſes.

Lavardin likewiſe took his way through Roſny, but went to lodge at the extremity of the town. Chicot §, who would always give free ſcope to his

Beauvais Nangis alſo (and he relates it himſelf in his Memoirs) aſked him one day what he intended to do if the king ſhould come to attack him: "I will retire immediately to Germany, replied "the duke, and there wait for a "more favourable opportunity."

* Anne duke of Joyeuſe, the eldeſt of ſeven ſons of William of Joyeuſe.

† Claud of Lorrain.

‡ This was the treaty of Nemours, the triumph of the league, and the diſgrace of Henry III. Henry IV. told the marquis de la Force, in the preſence of Matthieu, who relates it in his eighth book, that the moment he was informed of this ſhameful weakneſs of the king of France, his muſtaches turned ſuddenly white on that ſide of his face, which he ſupported with his hand. Sixtus the fifth appeared aſhamed himſelf; and by the ſame bull of September the 5th, 1585, wherein he excommunicated all that aſſiſted the huguenots, he likewiſe excommunicated thoſe who undertook any thing againſt the king and kingdom. He foreſaw at that time all the miſeries that would befall France. See theſe articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league in France and Rome, vol. I. of the Memoirs of Nevers, p. 661, and following.

§ Chicot was a Gaſcon, brave, rich, and a buffoon. At the ſiege of Rouen, he wounded Henry of

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1585. humour, resolved to divert himself at Lavardin's expence, whom he called a madman; and sending for him one day, told him with a mysterious air, that that devil of a huguenot (meaning me) certainly intended to keep the deaf man (a nickname he gave likewise to the duke of Joyeuse) prisoner. Lavardin, without reflecting that his attempt would be useless, tho' it had not been ridiculous, armed himself immediately, with all his domestics, and came with them in bravado before my door; where he was obliged to bear the railleries of the whole company, who did not spare him.

What I am now going to say, will hardly appear credible. We set out together, and had scarcely reached Verneuil, when the duke of Joyeuse received a packet from court, which informed him, that the king had concluded a peace with the league, and that it was his majesty's intention, that the army, which two days ago was to support him against the league *, should be led against the king

Lorrain, count of Chaligny, in the thigh; and taking him prisoner, presented him to Henry IV. saying, "Here, keep what I give thee." The count, enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the hilt of his sword, which killed him. He used to say whatever he pleased to the king, without giving him any offence. When the duke of Parma came to France, Chicot said to the king, before all the courtiers, "My "friend, I see very well that all "you do will signify nothing, un- "less you either turn catholic or "pretend you are one." Another time he said to him, "I am "convinced that to be peaceably "king of France, you would give "both papists and huguenots to "Lucifer's clerks: so true it is, "that you kings have no religion "but in appearance." "I am "not surprized, said he, another "time to his majesty, that so many "persons desire to be kings: it is "a good trade, and by working "at it only an hour in a day, one "may make sufficient provision "for the rest of the week, with- "out being obliged to one's neigh- "bours; but for God's sake, my "friend, take care and keep out "of the hands of the leaguers, "for if you should fall into some "of them, they would hang you "up like a hog's gut, and write "upon your gibbet, At the crown "of France and Navarre, are good "lodgings to be lett." Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. p. 72.

* The king was obliged to it at Châlons by the leaguers, who were assembled there. He secretly excused himself to the king of Navarre, upon the necessity he was driven to. This prince and the queen his mother suffered themselves to be unseasonably intimidated by the threats of the league, whose forces were exaggerated, although it would not have been difficult to have destroyed them in the beginning. The council missed

of

of Navarre. Joyeuse, in relating this to me, added, "Well! Monsieur le Baron de Rosny, "this stroke will give me a cheap bargain of your "fine horses, for the war is declared against the "protestants: but I persuade myself, continued "he, that you will not be so simple as to join the "king of Navarre, and by embarking in a cause "that will infallibly be ruined, lose your fine "estate of Rosny." 1585.

The duke might have spoken much longer without interruption; for although I was sufficiently acquainted with the court, so that nothing from that quarter could surprize me, yet I could not reflect, without astonishment, upon those difficulties through which fortune seemed to take a pleasure in leading the king of Navarre, before she conducted him to that greatness which was destined for him; for I was always persuaded of this in my own mind, and the predictions of La Brosse were continually present to me. My answer, therefore, to Joyeuse, turned wholly upon these presages, after which I quitted him abruptly. This step might appear a little extravagant to him; and I have been informed, that he said to those about him, "There goes a consummate fool; but he "will be finely deluded by his sorcerer."

I returned to my house, from whence I set out again immediately, after taking some new measures conformable to the sudden change which had so lately happened. I went directly to Guienne, where the king of Navarre was, and staid with him four or five months, during which he was employed in making preparations against the storm that was bursting upon him. He carried me with him to Montauban, where he held several conferences with the protestants upon the part it was ne-

an opportunity of uniting the Low Countries to the crown, by sending back the deputies from those provinces, without an answer, who came to offer the sovereignty of them to the king, provided he would march with his troops on that side. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. De Thou, book lxxxi.

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1585. ceſſary they ſhould take in this conjuncture. Unhappily for them, upon this occaſion, when all was at ſtake, they did not underſtand their true intereſt ſufficiently, at leaſt ſo as to oblige them to a perfect union amongſt themſelves, and a faithful concurrence in the ſame deſigns. From that time, ſome of the principal leaders thought more of their own advancement than the king's, without conſidering that their fortunes were ſo cloſely connected with his, that if he failed, it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed. Each was for building a fortune for himſelf, independent of the general plan.

This diſunion of minds ſhewed itſelf more apparently in a private conference held at St. Paul de Lamiate, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named Butrick, ſent thither by the elector Palatine. It was there that the viſcount de Turenne gave the firſt indications of that turbulent, falſe, and ambitious ſpirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new ſyſtem * of government, into which they had drawn Meſſieurs de Conſtans, D'Aubigné, de St. Germain-Beaupré, de St. Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wanted to form the Calviniſt part of France into a kind of republican ſtate, under the protection of the elector Palatine; and five or ſix lieutenants in his name were to be ſent into the different provinces.

If we examine this project, it will eaſily appear, that the king of Navarre was but little obliged to theſe gentlemen, ſince, by this plan, they blended the princes of the blood with the officers of the proteſtant party, and reduced them all to the qua-

* The hiſtorian who gives us the life of the duke of Bouillon, does not deny that theſe were the views of this calviniſt nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, paſſionately deſirous of the quality of leader of the calviniſts of France, and very capable of filling that poſt. This is all that can be ſaid of him, to ſoften thoſe terms, rather too ſevere, which monſieur de Sully frequently makes uſe of in theſe Memoirs, when he ſpeaks of the duke of Bouillon.

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lity of lieutenants under a petty foreign prince. 1585.
This was not the only time that the king of Navarre found ſecret enemies in his councils, amongſt his dependants, and, in appearance, moſt faithful ſervants, and even amongſt his own friends and relations.

From men all things may be expected; they are not to be kept firm to their duty, integrity, and the laws of ſociety, by fidelity and virtue, but by their hopes, and wiſhes. But how could theſe conſummate politicians undertake to mention unity and conduct in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it ſo many heads, each independent of the other, and all under little ſubjection to a protector too weak to make himſelf be obeyed. It was perceived immediately, that their deſign was to make themſelves ſo many ſovereigns in their ſeveral diſtricts, not foreſeeing that by that means they would only deliver up each other to the diſcretion of Spain, and the league, who would eaſily deſtroy them, by attacking them ſeparately.

Although theſe cabals of the principal officers in the proteſtant party with a foreigner, were carried on privately enough, yet happily they did not hinder the better party from prevailing in the aſſembly. The duke of Montmorency * was of opinion, that in the preſent danger we ſhould be all united, and keep ourſelves effectually upon the defenſive. I inſiſted, in all the councils, upon the neceſſity of acknowledging the authority of one only head, and of not weakening our power by dividing it. As we came out from one of theſe councils, the king of Navarre drawing me aſide ſaid to me, "Monſieur le Baron de Roſny, it is not enough to "ſpeak well, we muſt act ſtill better: are you "not reſolved that we ſhall die together? it is no "longer time to be frugal; all men of honour, "and who have their religion at heart, muſt ven-

* This is Henry, marſchal Damville, afterwards duke of Montmorency.

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1585. "ture one half of their eſtates to ſave the other. "I am perſuaded, that you will be amongſt the "firſt to aſſiſt me, and I promiſe you, if I ſuc- "ceed, you ſhall partake of my good fortune." "No, no, ſir, replied I, we will not die, but we "will live together, and make our enemies ſhorter "by their heads. I have ſtill a wood that will "produce me a hundred thouſand franks, and all "ſhall be employed on this occaſion; you ſhall "give me more when you are rich, which will "certainly happen: I had a preceptor who was "poſſeſſed by a devil, and he foretold it me." The king of Navarre could not help ſmiling at this ſally, and embracing me cloſely, "Well, my "friend, ſaid he to me, return to your houſe, be "diligent, and come to me ſoon again, with as "many of your friends as you can bring with you, "and do not forget your wood of high trees." He afterwards communicated to me the deſign he had to draw the war to Paris, or at leaſt to the Loire; which was, in effect, the only means of ſucceeding. He told me alſo, that he carried on a private correſpondence in Angers, but that he feared the prince of Condé would by his precipitation obſtruct his deſigns there, more than the catholics: the event will ſhew if he judged rightly. He promiſed to inform me of all that paſſed, and took leave of me, with a thouſand teſtimonies of friendſhip, which I ſhall never forget.

I arrived at Bergerac, almoſt in the ſame moment that the cardinal de Lenoncourt *, M. de Sillery, and M. de Poigny came thither alſo, being deputed by the court to the king of Navarre, to repreſent to him, for the laſt time, the neceſſity he was under of ſubmitting to the king's pleaſure, and of changing his religion †. Poigny came to me

* Philip de Lenoncourt, cardinal and archbiſhop of Rheims, Nicolas Brulart, marquis of Sillery, afterwards chancellor, John D'Angennes, lord of Poigny.

† In the Memoirs of the life of J. A. de Thou, book iii. there is a converſation which Michael de

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the next day, discloſing to me the purport of his commiſſion, and aſked me what I thought would be the event of his journey. I aſſured him that he was giving himſelf an uſeleſs trouble; and that on an occaſion when religion, the ſtate, and the royal authority were in ſo great danger, it would not be words only that could prevail upon the king of Navarre. He ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, ſighed at my anſwer, and inſtead of replying, "I believe," ſaid he to me, it will be a difficult thing to procure a maſs in this city." I conducted him to the chapel myſelf with the other deputies, being deſirous to perſuade them by this liberty that was allowed to catholics, in a city wherein the proteſtants were maſters, that we were not the real enemies of the king. 1585.

What I had foretold the deputies of the event of their commiſſion, exactly happened. As for me, I continued my journey to Paris, where, on my arrival, I found nothing was talked of but the de-

Montagne had with this preſident, that the reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee here. "As they were diſcourſing, ſays the author, upon the cauſes of the preſent troubles, Montagne told the preſident, that he had been a mediator between the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guiſe, when theſe princes were at the court; and that the latter by his cares, his ſervices, and aſſiduities, made advances to gain the king of Navarre's friendſhip; but finding that he made a jeſt of him, and that after all his endeavours he was ſtill an implacable enemy, he had recourſe to war as the laſt reſource to defend the honour of his family; that the enmity which raged in the minds of theſe two perſons, was the cauſe of a war, which was at preſent ſo far kindled, that only the death of one of them could extinguiſh it; that neither the duke, or any of his family, believed themſelves ſecure, while the king of Navarre lived; and the king of Navarre, on his ſide, was perſuaded, that he ſhould draw no advantage from his right of ſucceſſion to the crown, during the duke's life. As for religion, added he, which they both make ſuch a noiſe about, it is a good pretence to procure adherents, but neither of them is much affected by it. The fear of being abandoned by the proteſtants, is the ſole cauſe that prevents the king of Navarre from embracing the religion of his anceſtors, nor would the duke recede from the confeſſion of Augſburg, if his uncle Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, had convinced him, that he might follow it without prejudice to his intereſt. Theſe, he ſaid, were the ſentiments he diſcovered in theſe princes, when he was employed in their affairs."

ſign

1585. sign of ruining the king of Navarre entirely, and extirpating the huguenots. Every thing there was conducted according to the inclination of the league, which, since the shameful step the king had taken, ruled despotically, and all the worthy Frenchmen that remained, were under a necessity of lamenting in private the misfortunes which the king's weakness had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to these that I addressed myself, and I had some conference with Mess. de Rambouillet, de Montbazon * the elder, d'Aumont, de la Rocheguion, des Arpentis, and some others. They all assured me, that when once the king of Navarre should appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he should soon see a considerable number of true Frenchmen in his train. I confirmed them as much as I was able in these good resolutions †, and after I had bought some horses at Paris, I made haste to procure those sums I had promised the king.

I learnt by public report, what had happened at Angers: but, in order to give a distinct account of it, it is necessary to take the story a little higher. Brissac ‡, who was governor of the castle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his absence, called captain Grec, with twenty soldiers on whose fidelity he had an entire reliance. Two of these soldiers, having formerly been of the reformed religion, suffered themselves to be gained by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the castle to them, which would necessarily be followed by the surrender of the city. When it was known at Angers, that Henry III. had joined with the king of Navarre against the league, a third party

* Nicholas D'Angennes, marquis of Rambouillet. Lewis de Rohan, created duke of Montbazon, in the year 1588. John D'Aumont, marechal of France. — de Silly, count of Rocheguion. Lewis du Bois, lord of Arpentis, master of the king's wardrobe, governor of Touraine.

† Monsieur de Rosny's negotiation with Henry III. is mentioned by De Thou, book lxxxii.

‡ Charles de Cossy, count de Brissac.

was

was formed, headed by Du Hallot *, who likewiſe endeavoured to gain Rochemorte and Freſne, ſo were the two ſoldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this ſtate; the two ſoldiers, preſs'd by the prince of Condé, ſurprized captain Grec, and killed him, together with ſome of his men: after which they ſeized upon the caſtle. Du Hallot, who knew not of the change that had ſo lately happened at court, gave himſelf no trouble about this action; on the contrary, he ſatisfied the people, by repreſenting to them, that the two ſoldiers had only acted according to the king's orders; and he remained in this error, till offering to enter the caſtle, he himſelf experienced the treachery of Rochemorte and Freſne, and, through his miſtake, ſuffered death upon the wheel †. 1585.

Hitherto every thing ſucceeded for the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé's party. But they ſoon experienced the inſtability of fortune. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the catholics, who kept the caſtle inveſted, perceiving that their deſign was to ſurprize the place, and make him their priſoner, endeavoured to get in again. In this tumult, thoſe within the caſtle thought of nothing but of drawing up the bridge immediately. Rochemort graſped the chains, which loſing from his hold he fell into the ditch, where a ſtag that was feeding diſpatched him by tearing him in pieces. Freſne only remained, who, two days after, as he was ſleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himſelf in ſafety, was killed by a carabine, ſhot from the other ſide of the river, at the diſtance of above 500 paces. After which the catholics drove out the reſt of the huguenots from the city and caſtle, with the ſame facility that they had ſeized it. Things would not have taken this unfavourable turn, if the king of

* Michael Bourrouge du Hallot. Lewis Bouchereau, de Rochemorte. Leon de Freſne.

† The king was ſo much afraid of the league, that he publicly diſavowed Du Hallot's enterprize.

Navarre

1585. Navarre had conducted the enterprize alone; for he would not have ſuffered the two conſpirators to begin their operation, till he was at the gates to ſupport them with his whole army.

This ill-concerted ſcheme produced more misfortunes; the prince of Condé being engaged in the ſiege of Brouage, when news was brought him, that his party had ſurprized Angers, balanced not a moment whether he ſhould quit the ſiege, but went immediately to the aſſiſtance of his confederates at Angers; where arriving too late, he failed in both his deſigns. This was not all; the whole catholic army being idle and diſperſed, aſſembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all poſſibility of regaining it, precipitated all the actions of the campaign, and brought the prince of Condé himſelf, as we ſhall ſee preſently, into a danger, from whence he eſcaped but by a ſingular inſtance of good fortune.

After this firſt act of hoſtility on the proteſtant ſide, I believed it would be no longer poſſible to keep any meaſures with the catholics. If to continue at Roſny, therefore, was dangerous, the country being overſpread with royaliſts, it was no leſs ſo to endeavour to make my way to the king of Navarre: however, I reſolved upon this laſt expedient, being convinced, that he never had more need of my aſſiſtance than in the preſent conjuncture; and that the difficulty of ſending diſpatches through the midſt of an enemy's army, was the only cauſe of my not hearing from him as he had promiſed. * Meſſieurs de Moui, de Feuquieres, and Morinville, to whom I imparted my deſign, judging it to be too hazardous, refuſed to accompany me; but this did not hinder me from ſetting out on my journey, attended only by ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were ſix thouſand crowns.

* Iſaac Vaudré, or Vaudray, lord of Mouy. — de Pas-Feuquieres.

I lay

I lay the first night at Nonancourt *, and the second at Chateaudun †. Hitherto no unfortunate accident befel me; for although we every where met with great numbers of catholic soldiers, yet they all supposed I was going, like them, to join the body of the duke of Joyeuse's army; with whom, as a soldier, named Mothepotain, informed me, every thing went very well. I left Chateaudun before day, lest I should be discovered, and came to Vendome; where not being willing to be known by Bénehart ‡, I made Boisbreuil, one of the gentlemen in my train, pass for the master of the troop, and I mounted, like one of the domestics, upon a horse that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongst us, was asked several questions, to which he made proper answers, and we were suffered to pass. We traversed the whole city, in order to lodge in the most distant part of the suburbs. Bénehart, who believed us to be catholics, as we had assured him we were, very obligingly sent to advise us to return into the city, because the prince of Condé's army, which had been repulsed before Angers, was dispersed over the country, and sometimes made excursions to the gates of the city, which rendered our stay in the suburbs very dangerous. What he represented to us as a misfortune we should have looked upon as a very great happiness; but there was a necessity for concealing it: therefore, the pretended master of the equipage, seeming to approve of this advice, ordered the baggage to be put upon the horses again, that we might return into the city. It belonged to me, who performed the part of a domestic, secretly to protract our stay till the night approached. The hurry and confusion, occasioned by the removal of all the people who lodged there, for the order was general, kept 1585.

* In Perche.
† In the county of Chartrain.
‡ James de Maillé de Bénehart, governor of Vendome.

our

1585. our artifice unſuſpected: at length, we in reality made preparations for going, as well as the reſt; but after our horſes had been fed and refreſhed, and the night half over, we mounted, and, inſtead of entering the city, filed off into a bye ſtreet, which I had cauſed to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that ſide, where I ſuppoſed the prince of Condé's army might be.

We had, however, reaſon to apprehend, that the artifice which had hitherto proved ſo ſucceſsful, would occaſion our ruin, through the impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing readily, what party thoſe whom we might happen to meet, belonged to. A miſtake might coſt us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our journey, tho' with ſufficient uneaſineſs, thinking it neceſſary not to alter our uſual anſwer. In effect, the firſt we met with was a company of light-armed horſe, commanded by Falandre. To the queſtion, which was, Qui vive, we replied, Vive le Roy; and Falandre examining us no further, adviſed us to join him, leſt we ſhould meet the prince of Condé's little army, which he aſſured us was not far off; adding, that if we doubted him, we might get further information from two or three companies of argoulets *, who were coming after. Theſe laſt words furniſhed us with a pretence for evading his perplexing civility: we feigned to have reaſons for not following the ſame route with him, and for waiting to take our meaſures from the anſwer we ſhould receive from the argoulets. In reality, we were no leſs apprehenſive of this other rencounter, but we prepared for it, relying ſtill upon the good fortune of eſcaping, by means of our diſguiſe. Accordingly, we did not fail to the queſtion, Qui vive, which was aſked us by the next company we met, to an-

* So called from the bows with which they were at firſt armed. They ſerved on foot or on horſeback, as our dragoons do at preſent. When the arquebuſes were firſt in uſe, they were called horſe-arquebuſiers; and it is by this name they are generally called in theſe Memoirs.

ſwer

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swer boldly, Vive le Roy, being persuaded that we spoke to the argoulets of the royal army, whom Falandre had mentioned to us. This supposition, however, probably drew us into a very great danger; for these argoulets having perceived the prince of Condé's army at a distance, dispersed, and threw themselves into the woods. Instead of them, therefore, these whom we now encountered were four companies belonging to the prince; which we soon comprehended by the whole troop's falling upon us, and aiming their pieces, crying out to us to surrender. At that moment, I plainly distinguished three officers of my acquaintance, whom it would not have been difficult in any other situation to have made myself known to; but I reflected, that in such sort of encounters, the first word, the first motion, that tend to an explanation, are generally understood as a refusal to surrender, and followed by a discharge of the piece close to the breast. Instead, therefore, of naming myself, or those officers, I behaved like a man who yields himself prisoner, and marched after the rest; till coming near Messieurs de Clermont * and St. Gelais, whom I surprized very much by embracing, they ordered my equipage to be restored to me, and likewise the portmanteaus which contained my money. 1585.

The prince of Condé came up soon after these four companies: he could scarcely believe what he saw, so bold did my enterprize appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after supping very temperately out of wooden dishes; and when the time came which obliged us to separate, the prince, who was so thinly accompanied, that far from being able to make head against a royal army, he was not in a condition to defend himself against a strong detachment, and being likewise in a province where he was sought for in all parts, would have had me to receive him into my company, in

* George de Clermont d'Amboise, marquis of Gallerande.

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1585. the quality of a private gentleman. He was ſo well known, that I could not yield to his requeſt, without ruining both him and myſelf. I intreated him, therefore, to diſpenſe with my compliance; and making the ſame excuſe to the duke de la Trémouille *, charged myſelf only with Meſſieurs de Fors, Du Pleſſis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The prince of Condé remained behind, extremely perplexed; and finding it ſtill more dangerous to continue with his twelve hundred horſe, than to march with a ſmall retinue, he divided them into platoons, of which the moſt conſiderable conſiſted only of twenty horſe, making them take bye-ways, and marching himſelf through the ſame roads, by a good fortune of which there are but few examples, twelve times eſcaped the purſuits of his enemies.

Nor indeed was I leſs fortunate myſelf. To the artifices I had already made uſe of I added another, which ſucceeded wonderfully: I aſſumed the name of one of my brothers; and to make myſelf look more youthful, cut off my beard and muſtaches. This, however, did not diſguiſe me ſo well, but that, through every place I paſſed, I could hear people about me ſay, that I perfectly reſembled my brother the huguenot. To avoid the queſtions that might be aſked me, I took the ſtyle of a zealous partizan of the league, ſpread the report of the prince of Condé's defeat †, and the rout of the proteſtant forces by the duke of Joyeuſe; by which means I arrived ſafe at Chateau-Renaud. The great difficulty was how to paſs the Loire; yet this I accompliſhed, through the aſſiſtance of M. des Arpentis, who acted on this occaſion like a true friend. I received, likewiſe, ſome ſervices from M. de Montbazon. As ſoon as I arrived at Montbazon, he ſent me a preſent of wine and fruit, and treated me with ſo much kindneſs in ſe-

* Claude duke de la Trémouille. † In Touraine.

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veral other inſtances, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his intreaties, and ſtaid there three days, which was no more than neceſſary, as our horſes began to be greatly fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazon *, which happened ſoon after, I was deprived of an opportunity of ſhewing my gratitude to a man, who had the good of the ſtate ſo nearly at heart. 1585.

Favoured by my new diſguiſe, I traverſed Châtelleraud and Poitiers. At Ville-fagnan †, meeting with a regiment of Swiſs that was going to join the marechal de Matignon's army, I reſolved to draw ſome advantage from this encounter. The Swiſs were not diſpleaſed with any thing I ſaid to them, becauſe I always took care to provide them each morning with a repaſt; and I believe I might have depended upon them, had I even diſcovered my true name. I travelled with them four days, and we did not ſeparate while I could poſſibly avoid it. Scarce had I quitted them, when paſſing the river at St. Marſaud ‡, I was known by Puiferret, who advanced with his company to the bank of the river. Happily for me, I had already got to the other ſide; and having this advantage of him, I gained the houſe of § M. de Neufvy. At Marton ‖ I went down, as uſual, into the ſuburbs, and immediately, through a ſtrange foreboding, returned into the city. I was informed the next day, that the door of the ſtable in which my horſes were ſuppoſed to be, had been burſt open in the night by a petard; but the reflexions I made upon this accident, did not prevent me from giving orders for my departure: when I was accoſted by a ſtranger, who ſaid to

* He was ſlain at the battle of Arques.

† Upon the confines of Poitou, and Saintonge.

‡ A village in Saintonge.

§ The youngeſt ſon was called Bertrand de Melet de Fayoles, of Neufvy; for Magdelaine de Melet de Fayoles, lord of Neufroy, his eldeſt, was in the party of the league.

‖ In Angoumois.

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1585. me, "Monſieur, I do not deſire to know who "you are; but if you are a huguenot, and leave "this place, you will periſh; five miles diſtant "from hence there is an ambuſh of fifty horſe, "well armed, which I believe is deſigned againſt "you." I thanked this man for his kindneſs, without ſeeming diſcompoſed by what he had told me, and coldly anſwered, that although I was not a huguenot, yet to fall into an ambuſh, appeared to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my fineſt horſes had hurt his foot, I ordered them to be all unſaddled.

That I might be aſſured whether what I had heard was true, I made one of my ſervants, named Perigordin, who could imitate perfectly well the gibberiſh of a peaſant, diſguiſe himſelf like one; and after inſtructing him what he was to do, ſent him to that part of the country, where I was told the ambuſh was poſted.

Perigordin meeting theſe fifty horſemen, told them, in anſwer to the queſtions they aſked him concerning the news of the city, that my departure was deferred till the next day. He followed them to a town, two leagues from thence, where they retired extremely mortified at having miſſed their blow, but reſolved to return to the ſame place the next morning: and came back to me to make his report. I ſet out that moment, and after ſome other little adventures of the ſame kind, arrived at the houſe of M. de Longa, and went from thence to Bergerac, where the king of Navarre then was. This prince, on whom no inſtance of kindneſs was ever loſt, held me a long time embraced in his arms; and appeared extremely ſenſible of the dangers to which, through my attachment to him, I had expoſed myſelf. He would make me acquaint him with the leaſt particulars relating to my journey, eſpecially the rencounter I had with the prince of

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of Condé, and the ſlippery condition in which I had left him. 1586.

'Tis impoſſible to deſcribe the king of Navarre's perplexity at this time: without troops, money, or aid, he ſaw three powerful armies marching againſt him. Thoſe of the dukes of Maïenne and Joyeuſe were advancing by great journeys; and he had the marechal de Matignon's army actually in front. The forty thouſand franks I had brought with me, proved a very ſeaſonable ſupply to this prince, who could not have raiſed ſuch a ſum in his whole court. We marched towards Caſtillon and Montſegur *, which Matignon made a ſhew of beſieging; but he falling ſuddenly upon Caſtets, we were obliged to turn to that ſide, and after a long and extreme cold march, for it was in the month of February, we arrived time enough to make them raiſe this ſiege.

But when we learnt that the duke of Maïenne's army was near, then it was, that not being able to think of any means by which we could reſiſt the efforts of two armies, whoſe numbers were ſo ſuperior to ours, we were thrown into the greateſt conſternation imaginable; we knew not which way to turn, nor what reſolution to take: one was of opinion, that the king of Navarre ſhould retire into the heart of Languedoc; another, that he ſhould go ſtill farther; and a third adviſed him to paſs over to England, from whence, after he had ſecured ſome powerful ſuccours, he ſhould go and put himſelf at the head of thoſe that Germany had given him hopes of. All agreed upon this one point, that the king ought to go farther from Guienne. It was with grief that I ſaw this advice, which would leave the proteſtant party in France without any reſource, likely to prevail.

The king of Navarre deſiring to know my opinion, I repreſented to him, that our affairs were

* Cities of Gaſcony, in the biſhopric of Aire.

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1586. not reduced to such an extremity, as to oblige us to abandon them entirely: that it would be time enough to do that, after we had endeavoured once more to make head against them every where; which did not appear to be impossible, by leaving, for example, the viscount de Turenne, with a small body of troops, such as could be got together, to act upon the defensive in Guienne; and while the duke of Montmorency did the same in Languedoc, and Lesdiguieres in Dauphiny, the king should reserve the defence of Rochelle, and the neighbouring country, for himself, till the foreign troops, that were now very soon expected, arrived, which would bring the two powers nearer to an equality. The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and declared he would follow it; "But, added he, the duke of Maïenne is not so "peevish a boy, but that he will permit me to "walk up and down a little longer in Guyenne." He then gave some orders before he set out for Rochelle, and took a journey to Bearn; which the present conjuncture rendered absolutely necessary.

He staid there but eight days, and during this interval, the two catholic armies having joined, and seized all the passages by which they thought the king of Navarre could return to Poitou, he saw himself upon the point of being shut up in Nerac. In this extremity the king resolving to attempt all things, rather than not secure himself a passage *; he left Nerac, followed by two hundred horse, and took the road towards Castel-geloux †. When he was got half way thither, he separated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of us that were best mounted, and a like number of his guards, appointed Sainte-foy ‡ for a place

* See this passage of the king of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both sides in D'Aubigné, vol. III. Matthieu, vol. I. book xviii. Cayet, book i. and other historians.

† A city of the principality of Albret.

‡ A city of Guyenne, upon the Dordogne.

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of rendezvous for all the reſt: then, turning ſhort, ſtruck into a road amidſt woods and heaths, with which he was well acquainted, having often hunted there, and arrived at Caumont *, where he ſlept three hours. We paſſed the river after ſun-ſet, and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande; after which, taking a bye-way near Sauvetat, we came two hours before day to Sainte-foy, where all the reſt of his men, who had divided into ſmall platoons, arrived alſo by different ways, without the leaſt loſs, not even of their baggage. The duke of Maïenne, exaſperated at this diſappointment of his hopes, went to diſcharge all his rage upon Montignac le Comte †, where captain Roux, and ſerjeant More defended themſelves ſo courageouſly againſt his whole army, that he could not oblige them to ſurrender, but by granting them the moſt honourable conditions. 1586.

This general found leſs reſiſtance in Sainte Bazeile ‡. Deſpueilles, the governor of that ſmall place, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and had the reputation of a very brave man: which inſpired me with an inclination to ſhut myſelf up with him, contrary to the advice of my relations and friends, who without doubt knew him much better than I did. The king of Navarre a long time denied me the permiſſion I aſked of him; at laſt, overcome by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myſelf into Sainte Bazeile. I found the place in a very bad condition, without ramparts, and the houſes all built of clay, which the cannon went quite through. However, it might have held out ſome time, but Deſpueilles being ſeized with fear, rejected all my advice, and was mad enough to put himſelf into the enemies hands, who treated the city as they pleaſed. The king

* Another city of Guienne.
† A city of Perigord upon the Vezere.
‡ A city of Bazadois upon the Dordogne.

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1586. of Navarre, at the first confused reports he heard of this action, was angry with us all; but when he was informed of the truth, the whole weight of his displeasure fell upon Despueilles, which was increased by this cowardly governor having the imprudence to tell him, when he presented himself before him to excuse his conduct, that if he had been there himself, he could not have acted otherwise. The king of Navarre put him under an arrest, from which, eight days after, he was released at our solicitations.

The king did not quit the field till he was reduced to the last extremity, and after having disputed the ground inch by inch. When he retreated, he threw the remains of his forces into Monségur *, Castillon, and Sainte-foy. I lent him six thousand livres more, to fortify Mont-flanquin, where Bethune † commanded. At last, fearing some fatal accident on the side of Rochelle, he left some troops in Guyenne, under the command of the viscount de Turenne, and took the road to that city, by Pons, and Saint Jean d'Angely ‡.

There were moments in which Henry III., enraged at the shameful part the league obliged him to act, wished ardently to find some means of revenging himself §: but willing to do this without danger, rejected always the thought that often presented itself to his mind, of calling in the king of Navarre, and uniting with him. The deputies from the four Swiss catholic cantons coming to Paris, to treat of the succours which some time before had been demanded of this republic; the king, who was then in one of his temporary fits of anger against the league, resolved to make use of these Swiss, which, with the troops that were at his own disposal, and those he might expect

* Upon the Dordogne.
† Floreſtan de Bethune.
‡ Cities of Saintonge.
§ It was in these moments that he said, as L'Etoile relates, *De inimicis meis vindicabo inimicos meos*; speaking of the leaguers, and the huguenots.

from

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from the king of Navarre, would form a body of men capable of reducing the league to reaſon. He wrote to the king of Navarre, and acquainting him with his new deſigns, deſired him to ſend a perſon in whom he could confide, to confer with him upon this whole affair, and particularly upon the uſe they were to make of the Swiſs. A blank paſſport was added to this letter, which the king of Navarre filling up with my name, obliged me to depart immediately. 1586.

I arrived at Saint Maur, where the court then was, and went down to the houſe of Villeroy, with whom I dined, and ſtaid the reſt of that day, and on the next he preſented me to the king. I ſhall never forget the fantaſtic and extravagant equipage and attitude in which I found this prince in his cabinet: he had a ſword at his ſide, a Spaniſh hood hung down upon his ſhoulders, a little cap, ſuch as collegians wear, upon his head, and a baſket full of little dogs hung to a ribband about his neck. He continued in a poſture ſo fixed, and ſo immoveable, that in ſpeaking to us, he neither moved his head, hands, or feet. He began by giving vent to his indignation againſt the league, which made me conclude he had received ſome new affront from it, and talked of his union with the king of Navarre, as a thing, the utility of which he was perfectly convinced of; but ſome remains of fear made him always add, that he looked upon it as impoſſible, while the king of Navarre perſiſted in his reſolutions of not changing his religion. I took the word, and told the king in anſwer, that it would be in vain to propoſe ſuch an expedient to the king of Navarre, who by agreeing to it muſt act againſt his conſcience; which, were he capable of doing, would not produce what his majeſty hoped from it; that the motive by which the league was actuated, was neither a regard to public good, or to religion; that ſo precipitate an action would deprive the

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1586. king of Navarre of all the assistance he might expect from the protestants, without drawing one man from the league; but, on the contrary, such a weakness would increase the pride of their common enemies. The king did not fail to answer my reasons; but I still persisted in maintaining, that the king of Navarre, by complying with the terms proposed to him, could bring only his single person to his aid, whereas by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, without requiring the sacrifice of his religion, he would strengthen the king's party with a body very powerful in the state. I had a conference, to the same effect, with the queen-mother: and I perceived that the force of my arguments made some impression on them both, at first, and that it was the fear of that change which an union with a prince of the reformed religion might produce, which only prevented them from yielding. I did not, however, despair of prevailing upon them to strike this great blow, and by the (not only gracious but) free and open manner, in which their majesties treated with me, I had reason to flatter myself I should succeed.

I left them in these favourable dispositions to go to Paris, to confer with the Swiss deputies, and brought them to my purpose with very little difficulty. It cost me nothing, but a small expence in provisions, especially wine; for which they promised, without any limitation, a body of ten thousand Swiss; four thousand of which were to stay in Dauphiny, and the other six thousand to be employed in the service, and at the discretion of the two kings. The king of France again assured me by Mess. de Lenoncort, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his sentiments were not altered, and that he passionately wished for the union; which was not less earnestly desired by the king of Navarre: in the dispatches I received from him almost every day, he exhorted me to use all my endeavours to secure

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ſecure its ſucceſs, and even to ſacrifice for that purpoſe ſome part of his intereſt. 1586.

At my return to St. Maur, I gave the king an account of my journey, and aſked what uſe he would make of the ſix thouſand Swiſs, and to what place he deſigned they ſhould go. The king demanded, that they ſhould be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris; and even, if there was a neceſſity for it, ſerve him againſt the league. I foreſaw all the inconveniencies that would attend a project of this kind, and did not yield to this article, but by the expreſs command of the king of Navarre, who thought ſo ſmall a matter ought not to retard their reconciliation. It will be ſoon ſeen whether this article was really of as little importance as was imagined, and what was the conſequence of this imprudent compliance.

The treaty between the two kings being concluded upon the conditions that have been mentioned, I reſolved to depart from court, leaving only Marſilliere at Paris, under colour of continuing the negotiation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris, to take the firſt favourable opportunity of going to Germany, to facilitate, by the aſſiſtance of Meſſieurs de Clairvant *, and de Guitry, the departure of a body of German troops from thence, which the proteſtants of thoſe countries had promiſed the king of Navarre. This deſign Manſilliere executed very happily. As for me, I ſtaid but eight days at Roſny with my wife; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who was extremely well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my commiſſion.

This prince could not reſolve to lie idle in Rochelle, and therefore prevailed with the inhabitants to furniſh him with twelve hundred foot, two hundred horſe, and three cannons; theſe he gave to the duke de la Tremouille, for the reduction of

* Claude Antony de Vienne, lord of Clairvant.

Talmont,

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1586. Talmont *, which he could not endure to see in the enemies hands. I followed the duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys, and some other officers.

The town having no fortifications, we seized it without opposition, and began immediately to attack the castle; the walls of which were very strong, but had no works on the outside. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, depended upon some speedy supplies that Malicorne † had engaged to bring him; which determined us to press the place vigorously. The passage by sea from Talmont to Rochelle is but six hours: I embarked for that place to fetch a supply of powder, with which we were not sufficiently provided, and to inform the king of Navarre, that we should find it very difficult to succeed with so small a number of men. The king soon raised two thousand more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and shipped them on board of three vessels, which during three days were in danger of perishing. At length we arrived at Talmont; the three vessels cast anchor there, one after another, and the besieged learning that the king of Navarre conducted the attack in person, surrendered the place to him.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from bringing supplies to the governor of Talmont; the king of Navarre, therefore, being freed from this fear, drew off his troops, in order to attack Chizai ‡. Fayolle, who commanded there, defended himself bravely. He made good use of a culverine, which was the only piece of artillery he had in the place; nor yielded till the last extremity. I took notice of a singular accident that happened there: the princess Catherine having sent the steward of her household with a

* A city of Lower Poitou.
† John de Sourches, lord of Malicorne.
‡ In Upper Poitou, upon the Boutonne.

letter

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letter to the king her brother, a bullet of this culverine went quite through the body of his horſe, and came out at his breaſt, yet the beaſt continued ſtanding near ten minutes after. 1586.

Another ſhot from an arquebuſe was the cauſe of a much greater misfortune: a gentleman charged with a verbal meſſage to the king of Navarre, concerning ſome important affairs, was ſhot dead at the feet of this prince, having only had time to ſay that he came from Heidelberg, from Meſſieurs de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was ſent to inform the king, that the German horſe, and other proteſtant troops from Germany, were ready to enter France; and to know of him through what place he thought it moſt proper they ſhould march. Some were for their entering France, by Lorrain, where the league was very powerful; others maintained, that they ought to take their rout by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, and the ſide of the Loire. Meſſieurs de Montmorency and de Chatillon were for keeping them in Languedoc and near the Rhone. Never was ſo great a diverſity of opinions known, and unhappily the worſt prevailed, which was to bring them in through Beauce; doubtleſs, becauſe the king of France was willing to have them near him, that he might make uſe of them againſt the league, or at leaſt to keep it in awe. It is not probable that the king of Navarre would have conſented to this, but the accident that has been related was the cauſe that he was even ignorant of their contentions.

This prince, by a continuance of the ſame good fortune, took Sanzay, and afterwards St. Maixant *; the noiſe of five or ſix cannons, which till that time were ſeldom made uſe of in ſieges, produced this effect. He took advantage of his ſucceſs, and ſeeing himſelf reinforced with two hun-

* Other cities of Upper Poitou.

dred

1586. dred horſe, and five hundred foot, which were brought him by the prince of Condé, and the count de la Rochefoucault *, whom he had juſt made colonel-general of his infantry, he believed himſelf ſtrong enough to undertake the ſiege of Fontenay, the ſecond place for ſtrength in Poitou; although he was not ignorant, that in this place there was a brave governor, and a ſtrong garriſon. The governor, whoſe name was La Rouſſiere, reſolved to defend not only the city, but ſuburb Des Loges alſo, which was larger and more magnificent than the city itſelf, and ſurrounded with a great moat; to which was added ſtrong barricadoes, which cloſed up the entrance of this ſuburb. The king of Navarre ſent La Rochefoucalt, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the upper end of this ſuburb in a very dark night. I joined Meſſieurs de Dangeau †, de Vaubrot, d'Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Braſſeuſſes, Le Chene, and two or three others. We poſted ourſelves at one ſide of the barricadoes, with our pikes in our hands, and our piſtols at our girdles, with a deſign either to throw them down, or leap over them. We were repulſed three times. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, in falling, drew five or ſix hogſheads of dung upon us, from which we were apprehenſive we ſhould not ſoon diſengage ourſelves; but our party having at that inſtant forced the works, we got up by means of this effort, and the enemies ſeeing us maſters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having firſt ſet fire to it, to protract our purſuit, leſt by following them too cloſe, we ſhould in their confuſion enter the city along with them.

We now took up our lodgings in the fineſt houſes in the ſuburb, where we found all things in

* Francis de la Rochefoucault, prince of Marſillac, ſon of him who was ſlain at the Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. He was killed in 1591.

† Lewis de Courcillon de Dangeau.

great

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great abundance. The only inconvenience we suffered, was from the small shot of the place, which made the entrance to the king's and our own houses very dangerous; and the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of this suburb, it was impossible to enter it without being exposed to continual discharges. One day, when I came out of my own house to go to the king's, which was the most beautiful in the suburb, a ball, as I was passing thro' the street, crushed my head-piece, just as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to tie it. I caused a rope to be instantly fastened across the street, and by means of some cloaths that were hung over it, prevented the besieged from seeing at least those that passed. 1586.

We afterwards applied ourselves without ceasing to the trenches and undermining. The king of Navarre took inconceivable pains in this siege: he conducted the miners himself, after he had taken all the necessary precautions to hinder supplies from entering without: the bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were strictly guarded, as likewise great part of the country. One night, when I was upon guard with twenty horse, at the ford of a river, I heard the noise of trampling of horses at a distance, which made me conclude I should be attacked. This noise ceased for some minutes, then began again with more violence; and came so near, that I prepared for defence. I suffered the troop to approach within arms length; but when we were just ready to fire, I perceived the occasion of our alarm to be a number of horses and mares, which had been wandering about this field, and came to water at the river. I was one of the first to laugh at this adventure; but in secret I was not sorry that I had given orders to the person whom I pitched upon to go for assistance, not to set out till we were engaged in fight.

At

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1586. At this ſiege, my principal employment was the conduct of the artillery. The mining was ſo far advanced, that we could hear the voice of the ſoldiers who guarded the parapets, within the lodgment of the miners. The king of Navarre was the firſt who perceived this; he ſpoke, and made himſelf known to the beſieged; who were ſo aſtoniſhed at hearing him name himſelf from the bottom of theſe ſubterraneous places, that they demanded leave to capitulate. The propoſals were all made by this uncommon way: the articles were drawn up, or rather dictated by the king of Navarre, whoſe word was known by the beſieged to be ſo inviolable, that they did not require a writing. They had no cauſe to repent of this confidence; the king of Navarre, charmed with a proceeding ſo noble, granted the garriſon military honours, and preſerved the city from pillage.

A woman of the city having killed a fat hog the ſame day that they had capitulated, hearing that the garriſon had ſurrendered, deviſed a pleaſant ſtratagem, to deprive the rapacious ſoldiers of their prey. She made her huſband hide himſelf, and wrapping the dead animal in a ſheet, laid it, by the help of ſome friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours about her. The mournful preparations for a funeral gave them to underſtand the cauſe of her lamentations; the prieſts were deceived as well as others. One of them conducted the funeral proceſſion a-croſs the ſuburbs, into a church-yard without the city, by the king of Navarre's permiſſion. The ceremonies over, and the night being come, ſome perſons poſted by this woman near the grave, came to take up the dead animal, and carry it into the city; but they were perceived by ſome ſoldiers, who driving them from thence, diſcovered the truth, and ſeized the prey. One may eaſily imagine the ſecret was not well kept; it was known all over the city: a prieſt, to whom this woman, preſt with remorſe of conſcience,

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science, had revealed it, publiſhed the adventure every where. 1586.

The king of Navarre leaving the lord of La-Boulaye * governor in this place; went to take the abbey of Maillezais, the ſituation of which he found ſo advantageous, that he reſolved to make it a regular fortreſs, and ordered me to draw a plan of it. Davailles, a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to guard it. His troops took Mauleon likewiſe, and afterwards the caſtle of La-Garnache †; from whence Monſieur de Genevois ‡ drove his own mother. She retired to Beauvois, a little city upon the ſea-ſide, whither her ſon ſtill purſued her, but falling this time into her hands, ſhe in her turn made him priſoner of war.

I was not preſent at either of theſe ſieges; the melancholy news I received from Roſny obliged me to go thither. During my ſtay at St. Maur, I obtained a protection for my caſtle and eſtate of Roſny, together with neceſſary paſſports for going thither when I pleaſed. It was this liberty that made me eaſy with regard to my wife, at a time when all ſorts of outrages againſt the proteſtants were allowed. I learnt that this town was at that time almoſt wholly depopulated by the plague: my wife had loſt the greateſt part of her domeſtics; and fear having obliged her to fly into the neighbouring foreſts, ſhe had paſſed two days and nights in her coach, and had afterwards taken refuge in the caſtle of Huet, belonging to madame de Com-

* Charles Echalard, lord of La-Boulaye.

† Other ſtrong places in the Lower Poitou.

‡ D'Aubigné explains this better, vol. III. b. i. c. x. "The lady of La-Garnache, ſays he, ſiſter to the duke of Rohan, held the city of La-Garnache, and the caſtle of Beauvois upon the ſea in neutrality. Her ſon, called prince of Genevois, by his mother's marriage with the duke of Nemours, ſeized La-Garnache, by means of a correſpondence he held with the domeſtics. He made the ſame attempt upon Beauvois, but he was taken priſoner by his mother. The reſult of all which was, that the king of Navarre intereſting himſelf in procuring his liberty, obtained it, and by the ſame means the place."

pagnac,

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1586. pagnac, my aunt. Her joy, when she knew I was so near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongst persons infected with the plague; and thinking to force me to return, she ordered the gates to be shut upon me. She had too much occasion for assistance and consolation to be abandoned in that condition; I entered, notwithstanding her resistance, and staid a month in this house, having only two gentlemen, and as many domestics, with me: breathing the air of the country in freedom, for the report of the plague kept all troublesome visitors from my house. I was not wholly useless to the king of Navarre all this time; my wood-merchant still owed me twenty-four thousand livres, and I pressed for the payment of it. The persecution that was declared against the protestants, put me entirely in their power; and the fear lest this money, together with all my estates, should be confiscated for the use of the league, obliged me to be contented with ten thousand livres.

As soon as the contagion ceased, I carried my wife back to Rosny, after having taken the necessary precautions to purify the house; and left her at the report, that the duke of Joyeuse, whose march had hitherto been slow, and his operations very inconsiderable, was advancing hastily, to drive the king of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had just then been repulsed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding it impossible to keep all his fortresses against forces so superior to his, he caused the greatest part of them to be razed and dismantled, and preserved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St. Maixant *. He afterwards retreated to Rochelle, where I found him.

The treaty of alliance between the two kings, which was mentioned above, seeming to promise a more favourable event, the reader is, no doubt,

* All these places are in Poitou.

impatient

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impatient to know the ſucceſs. All was already over; in one moment the whole deſign was overthrown. This proceeding of the court was certainly very uncommon, and will appear a myſtery abſolutely incomprehenſible to thoſe who know not what changes, a prince who delivers himſelf up to irreſolution, idleneſs, and timidity, is capable of aſſuming in affairs of ſtate: nothing is more dangerous than a mind thus fluctuating and undetermined. In difficult ſituations, all things ought not to be truſted to chance, nor ought it to be wholly neglected; but after having fixed on a particular deſign, every ſtep that leads to it, ought to be regulated by wiſe and cool reflections. A neceſſary peace cannot be too earneſtly deſired, nor concluded too ſoon; but in critical circumſtances nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the people's mind in ſuſpenſe, between peace and war. It was not by maxims like theſe that Catherine's counſellors conducted themſelves; if they formed any reſolution, it laſted but a moment, never held out to the end; and ſo timorouſly was it made, that it afforded even but a very imperfect remedy for the preſent evil. The fault of minds taken up in little trifling intrigues, and in general, of all thoſe that have more vivacity than judgment, is to repreſent to themſelves things that are near, in ſuch a manner, as to be dazzled by them; and ſee thoſe at a diſtance as through a cloud: a few moments or days make up their futurity. 1586.

To this fault of never being able to reſolve upon any thing, the king, or rather the queen-mother, added another ſtill greater *. This was the uſe of I know not what kind of little affected diſſimulation, or to ſay better, a wretched ſtudy of

* It has been aſſerted, that the intereſt of the true religion had no part in the politics of this queen. Witneſs theſe words which ſhe was heard to ſay, when ſhe thought the battle of Dreux was loſt, "Well! "we muſt pray to God then in "French."

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1586. hypocriſy and deceit, without which ſhe imagined her politics could not ſubſiſt: the firſt of theſe errors concealed from us the misfortune with which we were threatened, and the laſt tied the hands of thoſe who might have aſſiſted us to prevent it. What could we expect but to be ruined by it ſooner or later? Thus it happened to Henry III. through his want of reſolution to make uſe of the remedy that was offered him, by joining his troops with thoſe of the king of Navarre; by which means he might cruſh the enemies of his authority: he neglected to proſecute this deſign, and the conſequence was, that he ſaw himſelf reduced to an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name as ſhameful to the memory of this prince.

Catherine had recourſe to her uſual artifices, and thought ſhe performed a great deal, becauſe ſhe endured the fatigue of a long journey: ſhe went into Poitou, and had ſeveral conferences with the king of Navarre * at Coignac, Saint-Brix, and Saint Maixant. Sometimes ſhe endeavoured to allure him, at other times to intimidate him with the ſight of the conſiderable forces that were going to pour upon him, and whoſe efforts, ſhe told him, ſhe had hitherto ſuſpended. In a word, ſhe forgot nothing which ſhe thought might induce him to change his religion. This, however, is certain, that it was not without regret ſhe ſaw the league in a condition to oppreſs the king of Navarre, becauſe it was not her intereſt that his ruin ſhould be

* The queen aſking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies ſhe had brought with her, "There is no-"thing here, madam, that I would "have." Perefix's hiſtory of Henry the Great. Matthieu adds, that Catherine preſſing him to make ſome overture, "Madam, ſaid he, "there is no overture here for me," vol. I. book viii. p. 518. This interview was at St. Brix the 25th of September. "He was hunting "one day at Saint Brix, and want-"ing to ſhew that his horſe was "more lively than two very fine "ones belonging to Belliévre, a "herd of pigs behind a hedge "frighted his horſe, who threw "him upon the earth, where he "lay ſenſeleſs, bleeding at the "noſe and mouth. They carried "him like one dead to the caſtle. "However, two or three days "after he diſappeared." Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 588.

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accompliſhed by that means. But what ſecurity did ſhe give this prince, by the raſh and unſeaſonable meaſures ſhe wanted to engage him in? Had he not reaſon to believe, that the propoſal ſhe was conſtantly making him to change his religion, was, at the bottom, but an artful ſnare to deprive him of all aſſiſtance from the proteſtants, to make him countermand the troops that he expected from Germany, to draw him to court, to ruin him, and, after him, all his adherents? I had particular proofs that juſtified theſe apprehenſions; for thoſe conferences at which I was preſent with the king, not affording me the means of clearing my doubts, I held private ones, by his orders, with the ladies D'Uzes, and De Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catherine's inclinations than any other perſons, and by whom I was loved with ſo much tenderneſs, that they always called me their ſon. In order to come to the knowledge of their real ſentiments, I pretended to be well convinced of what indeed I only ſuſpected, and complained that the queen-mother made uſe of all her endeavours to ſacrifice the king of Navarre to the league. Theſe two ladies confeſſed to me in confidence, that they believed religion ſerved Catherine only for a pretence, and that affairs were in ſuch a ſtate, that the king of Navarre could no otherwiſe extricate himſelf from his difficulties, but by the force of his arms. They proteſted to me afterwards, that they ſaw with grief the bad diſpoſitions of the council towards this prince. Theſe words I have always believed to be ſincere, although ſpoke in a court where, next to gallantry, nothing was ſo much cultivated as falſhood. 1586.

Whatever were the queen-mother's * intentions, ſhe returned without obtaining any thing; and 1587.

* "After a long converſation, "the queen-mother aſking him if "the trouble ſhe had been at was "to produce no other fruit, ſhe "who loved nothing ſo much as "peace; he anſwered, Madam, I "am not the cauſe of it; it is "not I who hinders you from

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1587. Joyeuſe with an army took her place. The conduct of an army entruſted to Joyeuſe was a ſecond myſtery: Was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had better pretenſions to this command than him, or to ruin them entirely, if the new general had ſucceeded? Was it, on the contrary, the diſcovery of his connections with the league, that induced the king to give him a poſt, wherein he was aſſured this ungrateful man would periſh, or at leaſt miſcarry? Or was it only to remove a favourite from his preſence, who had now a rival in his affections? for it is often a mere trifle, that produces effects which are always attributed to the moſt ſolid cauſes: but was it not rather to enhance the luſtre of his favour by an employment ſo diſtinguiſhed? Such was the ſpirit of the court, that conjectures, the moſt oppoſite, were ſupported by equal probabilities. What ſeems, however, to determine in favour of the laſt ſuppoſition, is, that the army which Joyeuſe commanded was compoſed of the beſt forces in the kingdom, was filled with the flower of the nobility, and plentifully provided with whatever could contribute towards rendering it victorious.

The king of Navarre employed himſelf chiefly in putting Saint-Maixant in a condition of defence; he went thither with ſo much haſte and precipitation, that ſinking under his watching and fatigue, he was obliged, in his return to Rochelle, to throw himſelf into a waggon drawn by oxen, where he ſlept as in a bed. To prevent the proviſion with which he had ſtored Saint-Maixant from being conſumed, he ordered the two regiments of Charbonnieres *, and Des Bories, which had been appointed to defend it, to be poſted at La Motte

" ſleeping in your bed, it is you " that prevents me from reſting " in mine; the trouble you give " yourſelf pleaſes, and nouriſhes " you; peace is the greateſt enemy " of your life." Perefix, part i.

* Gabriel Prevot of Charbonnieres.

Sante-

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Sainte-Eloi. and there to expect the enemy's arrival. All these precautions could not prevent the reduction of this last place, and its castle, nor that of Saint-Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of several companies, amongst others that belonging to Despueilles, which was beat almost within sight of Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors made these misfortunes still more affecting; all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the waggons and the stragglers, during the marches of this army. 1587.

One day, as the duke of Joyeuse led his army back again from Saintes to Niort, I posted myself with fifty horse in the forest of Benon, near the great road, to wait for an opportunity of striking some blow. A soldier whom I had directed to climb up a tree, to observe the order and motions of the enemy's army, told us, that he saw a detachment advancing some paces before the first battalions. Those who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which they supposed it would not be difficult to subdue, before any assistance could come up to it. I did not relish this proposal. I remembered a maxim of the king of Navarre's, that to attack a party when the whole army was near, seldom succeeded; and I restrained the ardour of my troop, who burned with an eager desire to come to blows with them. We saw this detachment pass by, and afterwards the whole army, the battallions of which we could easily count. The last ranks marched so close, that I was of opinion there was nothing to be done; but as we were ready to make our retreat, the sentinel informed us, that he saw two small squadrons of fifty or sixty horse each, marching at a great distance from each other. I would have suffered the first to pass by, but it was impossible now to restrain the impetuosity of the soldiers; we fell upon the first with such fury, that we left twelve or fifteen dead upon the place, took as many prisoners, and the rest saved themselves

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1587. ſelves by flight. But how greatly was I mortified for not having followed my own opinion, when I found the ſecond troop was compoſed of fifty of the principal officers of the catholic army, with the duke of Joyeuſe himſelf at their head, he having ſtopped at Surgeres *, to refreſh himſelf with a collation there. When I gave the king of Navarre an account of this action, he told me ſmiling, that he perceived I was willing to ſpare the duke's ſquadron, on account of my two brothers who were with him. One of them having an inclination to ſee Rochelle, I obtained a paſſport for him, and conducted him every where. I went to Niort ſoon after, where the enemy's army lay, to agree upon terms of a combat that had been propoſed between the Albanois of captain Mercure's company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Ouïmes; but the duke of Joyeuſe would not permit it to be executed.

I found this general gloomy and diſcontented, and gueſſed ſo truly the cauſe of his uneaſineſs, that when he told me he ſhould ſoon ſet out for Montreſor, I replied without heſitation, that he could go very eaſily from thence to the court. At theſe words he turned towards my brother, as accuſing him of having revealed what had paſſed. Tho' he knew that there was nothing it, he imagined his diſgrace was certain, ſince the report of it had already reached Rochelle; and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his reſolution to go and deſtroy, by his preſence, the cabals of his enemies. However, he concealed his ſentiments, and coldly anſwered, that I ſuffered myſelf to be deceived by my too great diſcernment; and endeavoured to perſuade me, that he had no intentions of returning to Paris: but I was ſo well aſſured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the king of Navarre, to concert with him proper

* A town in the country of Aunis.

meaſures

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measures for drawing some advantage from an absence which would leave the catholic army without leaders; for I did not doubt but many of the general officers would take this journey likewise: in effect, Joyeuse was no sooner set out than his whole army, already badly disciplined, lived without order and obedience. 1587.

The king of Navarre, who had secretly assembled twelve hundred men, which he had drawn out of his garrisons, fell so seasonably upon the companies of Vic, of Bellemaniere, the marquis of Resnel, Ronsey, and Pienne, and even upon that of the duke of Joyeuse, that finding part of them in bed, and part at the table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftner than once alarmed the whole army, which was now under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to La Haye in Touraine *, and found means to keep it, as it were, besieged during four or five days. If on this occasion he had had forces sufficient to have enabled him to keep his post longer, it is my opinion, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power. The soldiers spreading themselves over the villages, and neglecting their safety to get provisions, we passed the river, and surprised them every moment.

During this short space of time, we killed and took above six hundred men. With six horse only, I went into a village full of soldiers; they were so accustomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of those who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be seized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering to repulse us, although they were forty in number. I brought them to the king of Navarre, and they enlisted in his troops.

The count of Soissons †, who was discontented with the court, had long given the king of Na-

* Upon the confines of Poitou.

† Charles of Bourbon, fourth son of Lewis I. prince of Condé, who was slain at Jarnac, and brother to Henry I. prince of Condé, of Francis, prince of Conti, and the young cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, but by another mother, Frances d'Orleans de Longueville.

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1587. varre hopes, that he would come over to his party, and this prince neglected nothing that could keep him in this favourable diſpoſition. The negligence of the catholic army afforded them both the opportunity they waited for. The count of Soiſſons took the road towards the Loire, and the king of Navarre ſent all his troops to Roſiers, to facilitate this prince's paſſage over the river. They ſerved him likewiſe to ſeize the baggage of the duke de Mercœur; the great convoy that eſcorted it, was attacked ſo ſuddenly near a bank, that they ſurrendered without ſtriking a blow, and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged. My part of the booty amounted to two thouſand crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a paſſport for them to leave La Haye.

This ſervice was repaid by another of the ſame kind; they procured me a paſſport for Paris, whither a preſſing occaſion called me. At this time the perſecution againſt the proteſtants was at its height. On which ſide ſoever they turned, inevitable ruin awaited them: in the villages, where every one became a ſoldier, in order to pillage, their houſes could not ſecure them from the fury of their perſecutors; and in Paris, and other great cities, they were expoſed to rigorous ſearches, which the zeal of religion inſpired, and the deſire of being enriched by their ſpoils made but too ſeverely executed. Princes will often ſee themſelves ſubjected to misfortunes like theſe, while they know not how far their rights * and duties with regard to religion

* 'Tis true, it never has been demonſtrated, that religion obliges ſovereigns to perſecute thoſe who make profeſſion of another faith, but this does not hinder the maxims which the duke of Sully eſtabliſhes here from being very dangerous, in that they ſeem to diſcharge kings from that indiſpenſable obligation they are under to preſerve the true religion; an obligation which includes that of making the worſhip, and all the exterior practices of it, to be exactly obſerved; which is equally conformable to the principles of a wiſe policy, as to thoſe of religion; a fatal experience having but too well ſhewn, that it is much more neceſſary to prevent all diſputes extend.

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extend. They cannot punish with two much severity, a crime by which nature, society, or the laws, are wounded. A religion that is capable of authorising such actions, becomes necessarily the object of all the rigour of their justice; and then only is religion subjected to the power of crowned heads; but their jurisdictions does not extend over consciences, in that precept that regards our love of God, the different comments of which form the difference of religions; the sovereign Lord of all reserves to himself whatever relates to speculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to destroy the common practice of it. Ignorance, or contempt of this maxim, was the cause of great misery to the protestants: those whose estates were large enough to admit of their living in Paris, chose that as the least dangerous way, because of the ease with which they could keep themselves unknown in a city so full of tumult and confusion. 1587.

My wife had retired thither some time, having used the precaution to take a borrowed name; to her was added, besides the common misfortunes, that of being far advanced in her pregnancy, during which she wanted all kinds of conveniencies. When I supposed she drew near her time, the apprehensions of what might happen to her in this condition, made me resolve to take a journey to Paris. I found her just delivered of a son, to whom I gave for godfather the lord of Rueres, then a prisoner in the gaol of the parliament, and the child was carried from the baptismal font to church, by a

upon matters of religion, than to silence them when they are begun. After the confession Monsieur de Sully so often makes in his Memoirs of that spirit of revolt, and independence, which conducted all the steps of the calvinist party in France, it is strange he is not sensible that, according to his own maxims, this body deserved to suffer all the rigour of the law. This place, in my opinion, sufficiently justifies what I have said in the preface to this work, that it is more proper to relate all the author's sentiments in theology, than to suppress them. It is not possible to understand his meaning here on the subject of charity. Obscurity is generally a proof of false principles, and weak reasoning.

citizen

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1587. citizen named Chaufaille and his wife; for the proteſtants did not ceaſe to meet in churches, and hold aſſemblies, notwithſtanding the ſevere informations that were made againſt them. At this very time, ſeveral women were burnt upon that occaſion; the dangers I ran myſelf were extremely great, and I avoided them only by not being known, which was indeed an amazing inſtance of good fortune.

At laſt the number of ſpies increaſing in all parts of the city, the ſearch was ſo diligent, that nothing could eſcape. I did not think it poſſible to ſtay any longer in Paris, without expoſing myſelf to evident danger. I left it therefore alone, and in diſguiſe, and fled to Villepreux; from whence I took a bye-road to Roſny.

The duke of Joyeuſe had been received in Paris with praiſes and acclamations, which ought to have made him bluſh in ſecret for not having deſerved them. They did not, however, hinder him from being ſenſibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he was ſoon informed. He endeavoured by all poſſible means to make ſatisfaction for this loſs, which in the diſpoſition the king was in with regard to him, was not a difficult taſk. His arrival had diſconcerted all the ſecret practices of his enemies, and his favour * with Henry was riſen to ſuch a height, that he could refuſe him nothing. All the courtiers attached themſelves to him, and he ſet out again for Guyenne with the flower of the French nobility, while ſeveral other bodies of troops, taking ſeparate ways, aſſembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them.

* "In his embaſſy to Rome, he "was treated as the king's brother: he had a heart worthy of "his great fortune. One day "having made the two ſecretaries "of ſtate wait too long in the "king's anti-chamber, he ex"cuſed himſelf by reſigning up to "them a hundred thouſand crowns "which the king had juſt given "him." Notes upon the Henriade.

Theſe

Theſe different marches of the troops made the roads ſo dangerous, that I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by altering the date of my paſſport, which was expired. By this little fraud I got ſafe to the king of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking meaſures to prevent the dreadful ſtorm he ſaw ready to burſt upon him. He drew together all the ſoldiers he could find in Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and ſent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soiſſons, meſſieurs de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with all the forces they had: yet, with all theſe ſupplies, his troops were greatly inferior to thoſe of the duke of Joyeuſe. They only ſerved to put him in a condition of opening a way through Guyenne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnois, towards the ſource of the Loire, where he depended upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He made uſe of all his endeavours to accompliſh this junction, before the troops of Joyeuſe were all joined. This prince, therefore, advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and La Roche-Chalais *, but always cloſely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his deſign, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the marechal de Matignon, nor of ſeveral other regiments that were coming to join him, leſt he ſhould loſe an opportunity, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already ſo much ſuperior to the king of Navarre's, that this reſolution could not be accuſed of raſhneſs and temerity; and the king, who never hazarded a dangerous action, but when obliged to it by neceſſity, inſtead of ſeeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might purſue his march without oppoſition, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had ſeveral ſtrong forts which might ſtop the enemy's purſuit. 1587.

* Cities upon the borders of Saintonge, of Guyenne, and Perigord, as were Chalais, and Auberterre.

With

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1587. With theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides, the king of Navarre arrived at the paſs of Chalais and Aubeterre. It was of great importance to him to gain Coutras *, a poſt that might favour this paſſage, and no leſs to Joyeuſe to hinder it. He ſent Lavardin to poſſeſs himſelf of it; but La Trémouille, being more diligent, prevented him, and maintained himſelf in it, after a very ſharp ſkirmiſh. The king of Navarre reſolved to take advantage of this poſt to attempt the paſs, and marched thither in the night, reſerving to himſelf the care of conducting the troops over, and left that of the baggage, particularly the artillery, to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and me. As it was neceſſary to make uſe of all poſſible diſpatch, we ſet ourſelves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other ſide of the river, when the ſcouts, whom the king of Navarre had ſent during the night to make diſcoveries, returned with ſome priſoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuſe having reſolved to force the king of Navarre to a battle, had marched all night, and would be up with him at furtheſt by ſeven or eight o'clock in the morning. This intelligence convinced the king that our labour was not only uſeleſs, but extremely dangerous, becauſe if found by the enemy employed in paſſing the river, that part of his troops which ſhould remain on this ſide of it muſt be inevitably defeated, as it could receive no aſſiſtance from the troops on the other. Thoſe who had already got over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, we loſt Mignonville †,

* Coutras, a city of Guyenne, upon the borders alſo of Perigord, at the confluence of the rivers of Lille and Droume.

† Mignonville, who was ſlain ſoon after before Nonancour, when Henry IV. ſtormed that city. He was marechal de camp, and an excellent officer. Henry had a great number of ſubaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army; ſuch were Mongomery, Bellezuns, Montauſier, Vaudoré, Des Ageaux, Favas, whom the hiſtorians, in relating this battle, have mentioned with honour.

for

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for whom the king had occaſion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had ſuffered, yet that did not hinder the king from pointing out to us an eminence, upon which he expreſſed a wiſh that his artillery could have been placed, but durſt not hope that we ſhould have time to gain it. In effect, we already diſcovered the enemy's van. Luckily Joyeuſe, who without doubt was not ſufficiently acquainted with the ground, or ſuffered himſelf to be too far tranſported by his ardour, had given orders for fixing his artillery in a place ſo low, that afterwards finding it would be uſeleſs, he cauſed it to be removed, and by that means gave us leiſure to place our own. It muſt be confeſſed, that this general, by ſome means or other, drew but little advantage from his artillery, and that this was one of the chief cauſes of his loſing the battle. This ſhews, that there is nothing more neceſſary for the general of an army, than an exact and piercing ſight, which ſhortens diſtances, and prevents confuſion. I never knew a general that poſſeſſed this quality in an equal degree with the king of Navarre *. 1587.

The † battle was already begun, before our artillery, which conſiſted only of three pieces of cannon, was fixed, and we had ſoon occaſion for it. The troops in monſieur de Turenne's quarter behaved very ill; that of La Tremouille was forced the firſt ſhock, which was beginning to throw the whole

* Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his ſoldiers, "My friends, behold "here a prey much more conſi- "derable than any of your for- "mer booties; it is a bridegroom, "who has ſtill the nuptial por- "tion in his pocket, and all the "chief courtiers with him." Dec. of Henry the Great, book iv.

† It began the 20th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, and was ended at ten. The victory was complete, five thouſand of the enemy were left dead upon the place, and five hundred taken priſoners. In the king of Navarre's army, there were but very few ſoldiers ſlain, and not one priſoner of diſtinction. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Mem. of Du Pleſſis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 533. Father Daniel, in his hiſtory of France, vol. IX. 4to. gives an exact deſcription of the battle of Coutras. I could wiſh to have tranſcribed the whole article here.

army

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1587. army into disorder. The catholics cried out Victory; and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious; but at the same moment our artillery began to play, and so terrible * was the fire, that every discharge carried away twelve, fifteen, and sometimes five and twenty men. It put a stop immediately to the impetuosity of the enemies, and reduced them to such an extremity, that seeking to avoid the fire, they dispersed, and offered only a disorderly and ill-sustained body to the efforts of the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soissons, who scoured the field at the head of three squadrons. These three princes † performed prodigies of valour in this battle; they overthrew all that opposed them, and striding over the bodies of the dead to meet new dangers, their arms were all battered with blows. The face of things was changed in an instant, and the death of the catholic general ‡ gave the protestants a compleat victory.

As soon as I beheld the enemy fly, I abandoned the cannon, which were now useless, and mounting a horse which Bois-breuil kept ready for me behind the artillery, I flew to learn tidings of my brothers, and I had the consolation to hear, that neither of them had been in the battle. I met the king of Navarre busy in dispersing ‖ the fugitives,

* "The first fire of the artillery, "says Le Grain, carried off seven "captains of the regiment of Pi- "cardy, the best and most war- "like in the duke's army." Book iv.

† "All I shall say to you," said the king of Navarre to them, "is, that you are of the house of "Bourbon, and, please God, I "will shew you, that I am your "eldest brother."

His valour was that day far superior to all the others. He wore a plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himself remarkable. Some of his friends throwing themselves before him, to defend and cover his person, he cried, "Give me room, I beseech you; "you stifle me; I would be seen." He forced the first ranks of the enemy, took several prisoners with his own hand, and collared an officer named Château Regnard, cornet of a company of foot, saying, Yield thee, Philistine. Perefix, ibid.

‡ Slain in cold blood, by La Mothe St. Henry; others say, by two captains of foot, named Bordeaux, and Descentiers.

‖ Some persons seeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, that

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and compleating his victory, which he did, not thinking himself secure while there remained any to oppose him. The bodies of Joyeuse and St. Sauveur * his brother, were drawn from beneath a heap of carcases, and laid upon a table in the hall of the castle of Coutras, and a coarse sheet thrown over them †. 1587.

the marechal de Matignon's army was in fight: he received those tidings as a new subject of glory, and turning courageously to his men, Let us go, my friends, said he: two battles in one day, is what has never before been seen. Perefix, ibid.

* Claude de Joyeuse the youngest of seven sons of William duke of Joyeuse.

† The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot answer for. However, the reader may not be displeased to see it here; I met with it in the memoirs of Amelot de la Houssaye, vol. II. p. 443. who relates it as drawn from the history of the lords of Enghien, by Colins. This author speaks thus, "The king of "Navarre gained the victory, to "the great satisfaction of the king "of France, who secretly corre- "sponded with the victorious ar- "my, through the faithful inter- "position of the marquis of Rosny, "of the house of Bethune, now "duke of Sully, who remained "unknown at Paris." This author seems to have been acquainted with the duke of Sully's secret negotiations with Henry III. already mentioned; but he is mistaken in this, that these negotiations produced no effect, since the duke of Joyeuse was still highly favoured by this prince, at least if we may believe Monsieur de Sully, who ought to know better than any other: And that Sully could not be at Paris, because he was at the battle; and that even the last journey he took there, some time before, had no other motive than the desire of seeing and assisting his wife.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK III.

1587. THAT the proteſtant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not, is equally true. I am ſincere enough to confeſs, that the king of Navarre did not, upon this occaſion, do all he might with a victorious army, and maſter of the field: if he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction; and, after a ſtroke ſo important, his party would have at leaſt been equal to the catholics. 'Tis certain, that the true value of a moment is never known, the wiſeſt are deceived *. The ambitious deſigns, and ſelf-intereſted views of ſeveral of the leaders in the victorious army, ſnatched from the king of Navarre the fruits of his victory; but this is a truth few people are acquainted with.

The prince of Condé being ſeduced by the advice of Tremouille †, thought the time was now

* Our beſt hiſtorians agree in theſe two things, that the king of Navarre knew not how to take advantage of his victory, and that he did not do all he might have done. D'Aubigné is almoſt the only perſon who exculpates this prince's officers, and lays the blame wholly upon him. Vol. III. b. i. c. xv.

† Claude duke of Tremouille.

come,

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come, when he could execute the bold ſcheme he had long before meditated, which was to diſmember the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou, the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compoſe of them an independent ſovereignty. With this view, he haſtily withdrew the troops he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to the reduction of Saintes and Brouage, which he flattered himſelf he ſhould be maſter of at the firſt alarm; and that afterwards, nothing would be able to oppoſe him. So true it is, that ambition reſembles that bird in the fable, who has a ſtrong wing, and an inſatiable hunger *, 1587.

* The duke of Sully does not agree here with D'Aubigné, Du Pleſſis Mornay, and the author of the life of the duke of Bouillon; it is probable he had better memoirs than them all, with regard to the deſign he attributes to the prince and the duke on this occaſion; but I am afraid, there was ſome prejudice and paſſion on his ſide. In my opinion, Monſieur de Thou is better able than any other perſon to decide this queſtion: ſpeaking of the conſequences of the battle of Coutras, he ſays, that a council being aſſembled to deliberate upon what meaſures were neceſſary to be taken, the prince of Condé propoſed, that they ſhould go to meet the foreign troops along the ſide of the Loire, and ſecure them a paſſage over this river, by ſeizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reaſons which he relates, and which are very bad; and it was agreed only, that the prince of Condé ſhould go, with what troops they could ſpare him, to join to the German army towards the ſource of the Loire, taking his way through the heart of Angoumois and Limoſin. That the king of Navarre, on his ſide, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by the greateſt part of the nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, marched towards St. Foi in Agenois, from whence he took the rout to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the viſcount de Turenne; who not willing to let the ſoldiers be idle, beſieged Sarlat in Perigord, deſigning at leaſt to lay it under contribution, if he could not take it. This is what De Thou ſays, to which may be added, a very important circumſtance, and at the ſame time a very true one, ſince neither the duke of Bouillon, nor his apologiſts, could contradict it; which is, that it was the viſcount himſelf who rejected the prince of Condé's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the prince of Condé was not guilty of what he is here accuſed of: which is further confirmed by D'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promiſe the king of Navarre made him to join him ſoon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpoſe. The prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewiſe views of independence, of which no hiſtorian doubts.

Although the viſcount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occaſion in conſequence of the reſolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the leſs

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1587. The viſcount Turenne having the ſame deſigns upon the Limoſin, and Perigord, where he already poſſeſſed great eſtates, purſued the ſame conduct with the prince of Condé; and obliging all his troops (which alone compoſed one third of the army) to follow him, led them to the ſiege of Sarlat, ſoothing them with hopes that this expedition would enrich even the meaneſt ſoldier. He fully juſtified the proverb, that great promiſers perform the leaſt: the check he received before this little paltry town, ought to have convinced him in time of the vanity of his pretenſions. The viſcount had no one to accuſe but himſelf for this misfortune; as for the king of Navarre, he had acted quite contrary to his advice.

The count of Soiſſons concealed his deſigns with more art; however, it is certain, that his new attachment to the king of Navarre was not ſincere, and that it was intereſt alone which induced him to it. He had gained the heart of the princeſs Catherine, the king's ſiſter, and he was continually expreſſing to this prince, the earneſt deſire he had of uniting himſelf more cloſely to him by marriage; but this deſign concealed another too ſhameful for him to ſuffer to appear. His pretenſions by this marriage were, to ſubſtitute himſelf in the place of the king of Navarre; and as he ſaw no probability that this prince, having the pope, Spain, and the French catholics for his enemies, ſhould ever accompliſh his deſigns, he depended upon en-

authorized to think diſadvantageouſly of him. It is bad reaſoning in Marſolier to grant on one ſide, that he was inſtigated by his ambition to wicked deſigns, and on the other ſide to complain, that thoſe deſigns are ſuppoſed the motives of his conduct. This is to deſtroy the idea he would give us of the duke of Bouillon, as of the greateſt politician of his time. Theſe raſh judgments are condemned by religion, but are allowed by the laws of hiſtory; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As for what has been ſaid in the ſame place againſt the count of Soiſſons, it is, and will be ſtill more ſupported hereafter by unanſwerable proofs. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Memoirs Du Pleſſis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. chap. xv. Marſolier's Hiſtory of Henry duke of Bouillon, vol. I. book iii.

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riching himself with his spoils, and upon gaining, at least, the great estates which make up the apenage of the house of Albret on this side the Loire. Such being his intentions, he took care neither to assist him with his advice, or his arm, to push his last victory further; on the contrary, he seized that moment to press him so earnestly to allow him to go to Bearn to visit the princess his sister, that the king, seeing himself in a more destitute condition than if he had lost the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the assistance the count had given him, to grant him this satisfaction. He himself was also dragged thither (and the count was not ignorant of it) by a passion which had always been the weakness of this prince. Love called him back to the countess of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours he had taken from the enemy, which he had caused to be set apart for that purpose. 1587.

Accordingly they took the road together to Bearn. Happily this unseasonable journey did not produce all the disadvantages that might have been reasonably expected from it: it was so far of use to the king of Navarre, as to give him a more perfect knowledge of the person on whom he was going to bestow his sister. The count of Soissons could not so well dissemble his sentiments, but that the king guessed at some part of them; and a letter, which he received from Paris, fully revealed them. By this letter he was informed, that the count of Soissons had taken this step purely at the instigation of the ecclesiastics, who had fallen upon this stratagem to deprive him of all his possessions: that the count had solemnly sworn to them, as soon as he had married the princess, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the party of his benefactor, and afterwards concert measures with them to finish the rest. The king of Navarre received this letter at his return from hunting, when he was just ready to fall into the snare that

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1587. laid for him; and it gave him an averſion to the count, which nothing was ever able to remove. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himſelf to his advice.

I had not the mortification of being a witneſs to all theſe reſolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I ſhould in vain have oppoſed. Some days before theſe extravagant and ſenſeleſs ſchemes had poſſeſſed the minds of the principal officers in our army, the king of Navarre took me aſide, in a garden, and aſked my opinion concerning the condition into which this laſt action had put his affairs. I told him, that I thought it neceſſary he ſhould march immediately with all his forces towards the ſource of the Loire, to receive the foreign ſupplies, or, what would anſwer the ſame end, to facilitate their paſſage, by taking poſſeſſion of all the towns on this ſide of the river; and which, except Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, ſeemed not difficult to be won. By this means he would at leaſt ſecure to himſelf the fineſt and beſt provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a ſhort time, nor by very inconſiderable forces.

The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and appeared reſolved to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had juſt ſent Montglat * to the foreign army, and that ſince he could not go to put himſelf at the head of it, he ardently wiſhed the prince of Conti † would accept of that charge; having received letters from this prince, in which he offered to aſſiſt him in perſon: and he added that, under pretence of going to the royal army, the prince of Conti might join the auxiliaries without danger. The king then left to me the care of prevailing upon the prince to take this ſtep, and

* Lewis de Harlai, lord of Montglat.

† Frances de Bourbon, prince of Conti, ſecond ſon to Lewis I, prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. He died in 1614, leaving no children by his two marriages.

recom-

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recommended to me to uſe all my endeavours to ſecure the ſucceſs of it. 1587.

I ſet out from the army, charged only with a letter of three lines, and ſending my equipage to Pons, paſſed through Maine; where I expected to have found the prince, by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of thoſe places through which he muſt paſs. I learnt, at my arrival, that the prince of Conti ſet out by himſelf two days before; and had not ſo well concealed his march, but that his intelligence with the foreigners was ſuſpected, which was the cauſe that the roads were filled with the detachments which were ſent after him; and therefore I was obliged to take a circuit, in order to join him, and to paſs by Roſny; from whence coming to Neaufle, I was there informed of what had happened. The Germans entering without order, and without guides, into provinces unknown, ſtopped by large rivers, harraſſed continually by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau *: that the Swiſs, to avoid the like misfortune, had enliſted, to the number of twelve thouſand, in the troops of the league: that the king of Navarre was at Bearn, his forces unemployed, and diſperſed on all ſides.

* See a detail of this in De Thou, book lxxxvii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 537. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. p. 39. and particularly the Memoirs of the league, vol. I. where it is obſerved, that at the time this army was encamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the king of Navarre, to deſire the commanders of it would march towards the ſource of the Loire, where he would put himſelf at their head; but they did not think proper to do ſo. The leaders were, the baron d'Onau, or Dona, Guitry, Clervant, Beauvois La-Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the king of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not have been defeated. Davilla, in his eighth book, relates the duke of Guiſe's reply to the duke of Maïenne, who was ſenſible of the danger of attacking an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number. "Thoſe, ſaid he, that do not care "to fight, may ſtay here. What "I cannot reſolve upon in half "an hour I never reſolve on my "whole life."

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1588. This mournful news ſtopped my journey, and rendered my commiſſion uſeleſs. Nothing now remained for me to do, but to turn back to Roſny; where, while I ſecretly deplored the fatal conſequences of our bad conduct, I feigned, for my ſecurity, to take part in the public rejoicings, for the defeat of Auneau. I viſited my eſtates in Normandy; and while I was expecting thoſe remedies, which time, and the king of Navarre's return might bring to our calamities, I learnt that this prince had left Bearn, and I went to join him at Bergerac *, where the news of the taking of Caſtillon conſoled him a little, amidſt ſo many cauſes for affliction. The ſiege of this place had coſt the duke of Maïenne a million of crowns, and the viſcount Turenne retook it † for leſs than two.

A little time afterwards, we were informed of two accidents that were likely enough to change the face of affairs; one was the death of the prince of Condé ‡, a death as ſudden as tragical: the impriſonment of ſome of his chief attendants, and the puniſhment of one of his domeſtics §, who was

* Upon the Dordogne.

† By means of a ladder of cords.

‡ Notwithſtanding the ſecret jealouſy that ſubſiſted between the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, yet the king was extremely afflicted for his loſs, and ſhutting himſelf up in his cabinet with the count of Soiſſons, he was heard to ſend forth great cries, and to ſay, "That he had loſt his right hand." Perefix, Hiſtory of Henry the great, part I. This prince was called Henry, and was ſon to Lewis of Bourbon, firſt prince of Condé. He had no children by his firſt wife; after whom he married Charlotte Catherine de la Tremouille, whom at his death he left three months gone with child. It is a great error which was ſpread among the people, that Henry of Condé, the twelfth of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1ſt of September following.

§ The name of this domeſtic was Brillant. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The princeſs herſelf was comprehended in this accuſation. René Cumont, the lieutenant-particulier of St. Jean, commenced a proceſs againſt her, which was ſuſpended on account of the birth of Henry II. prince of Condé. After ſix years impriſonment, the princeſs preſented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catherine de la Tremouille of the crime of which ſhe was accuſed. The prince of Condé died at St. John d'Angely, March

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torn to pieces by four horſes, left no room to doubt that he died by poiſon. The news of the populace riſing * at Paris †, and barricading the ſtreets, and 1588.

the 5th, 1588, aged thirty-five years. De Thou, book xc. Moriſot, I know not upon what authority, ſays, that the death of the prince of Condé might be occaſioned by a wound he received in his ſide, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. Henry Magn. cap. xii. p. 27.

* Thurſday May 12.

† I ſhall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may beſides be found in a great many other books. It is ſufficient to ſay, that Henry III. to prevent the dangerous deſigns of the league, having ordered about ſix thouſand troops, the moſt part Swiſs, to enter Paris, and ſpreading them in different quarters of the city, the people roſe, and being kept together by ſome of the chiefs of the league, fortified themſelves in the ſtreets, repulſed the ſoldiers, diſarmed the Swiſs, defeated the king's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III. ſeeing himſelf ready to be beſieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expoſe himſelf to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuilleries, and the ſuburb Mantmantre, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negotiation, between the queen-mother, and the duke of Guiſe, and the abſolute deciſion of it remitted to the ſtate of Blois.

I obſerve, after D'Aubigné, that it was very fortunate for Henry III. that his troops ſeized and kept poſſeſſion of the ſuburb St. Honore, and the back of the Tuilleries; and that no one of the league thought of ſeizing theſe quarters. Thoſe who guarded the gate of Neſſe, fired at a diſtance upon the king's troop, and ſeeing the ferry-boat of the Tuilleris approach, in which they ſuppoſed the king to be, cut the cable, Chronol. Noven. tom. I.

Henry III. was on his ſide guilty of a much greater fault, in forbidding Grillon, colonel of the French guards, to take poſſeſſion of the ſquare Maubert, and the quarter of the univerſity, and by hindering his ſoldiers from firing upon the populace; who, by a ſtep more firm and ſeaſonable, might have been retained in their duty. The duke of Guiſe waited ſix whole days at Soiſſons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the king's orders, which were ſignified to him by Belliévre, in two letters that he ſent him at different times by the poſt. They were to blame, as Matthieu the hiſtorian alſo obſerves, vol. I. book viii. for not ſending theſe letters by an expreſs to the duke of Guiſe; for the duke imagined, that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as in effect he did at the queen's palace, in the preſence of the king and Belliévre, to whom he proteſted, with deep oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault was not committed through negligence, but becauſe they had not five and twenty crowns to ſpare to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III. was adviſed by the duke of Epernon, to ſuffer his guards to aſſaſſinate the duke of Guiſe as he came to the Louvre; and this prince, they ſay, would have engaged La Gueſle and Villequier in the deſign, but they diſſuaded him from it. It is reported alſo, that the ſame day, wherein the ſtreets were barricaded, Alphonſo d'Ornano aſſured him, he would bring him the head of the

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1588. of the king's departure from that city, followed soon after, and was spread every where by the courier, who was sent with an account of it to the duke of Epernon. To this abject condition a king

duke of Guise, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the king did not make use of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the designs of the league, having himself narrowly missed being taken as he was going to Vincennes; and had just been convinced by what had happened at the imprisonment of La Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of insulting him. The king's council acted without comparison better in that affair of La Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Satyr Menip.

The duke's design in this enterprize has given rise to great disputes, which I cannot here enter into a detail of; in this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been said pro and con. Those who will have it, that he intended to carry, or suffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to seize the king's person, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, support their assertions by some writings of great consequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See the first vol. of the Memoirs of the league, and the vol. marked 8866, in the king's library: the chief of which are, A letter written to him by the dutchess of Lorraine, after the victory of Auneau, in which she advises him to make use of the present opportunity to declare himself king, &c. A letter written by the duke himself the next day after the fortifications in the streets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are these words, "I have vanquished the Swiss, cut "in pieces part of the king's "guards, and hold the Louvre so "closely invested, that I shall be "able to give a good account of "those that are within. This "victory is so great, that it will "never be forgot," &c. Many other letters, in which he mentions the king very disrespectfully, and the princes of the blood with the utmost contempt; to this they add, the discontent the duke discovered, and the reproaches he made the queen-mother, for having amused him with conferences, while his prey escaped him. In fine, the writings that were, say they, published by his commands; wherein was attempted to be proved, the pretended right the house of Lorrain had to the crown, not to mention an infinite number of other pieces, which were indeed but so many satirical libels against Francis duke of Guise, reproaching him with having attempted to assert his chimerical claims upon Anjou and Provence; and the cardinal his brother, with endeavouring to make himself sovereign of Metz, under the protection of the emperor, a project which the vigilance of Salcede prevented the execution of; but he lost his head for it: and for having treated about religion with the king of Spain, at the council of Trent, without his master's participation. The greatest part of these writings are still in every body's hands.

For the duke's justification they bring those arguments made use of by himself in a letter, or a sort of manifesto, which he drew up the same day, being the 13th of May. He there declares, that the report of the king's intention to fill the city with foreigners, and to fall upon the citizens with them, was the true cause of the

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saw himself reduced, who neither knew how to prevent, to stifle, or to divide factions, who amused himself with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted, who exerted neither prudence nor fortitude, nor was even acquainted with the characters of those whom he commanded, nor those that were nearest his person. The revolutions which happen in great states, are not produced by chance, or the caprice of the people; 'tis a weak and disorderly government that causes rebellions, for the popu- 1588.

populace rising; that, instead of supporting them, he had made use of his utmost endeavours, till two hours after midnight, to calm the tumult; that he had preserved the Swiss, and prevented the massacre, that he had intreated the rebels to respect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing against the king's person, "I might, said he, have stopped "him a thousand times, if I had "been inclined to do so." &c. Add to this, that in treating with the queen-mother, he required nothing but the destruction of the protestants, and that religion should be secured; and declared likewise, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the cardinal of Bourbon, whose interests he supported against those of the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it sufficiently proved against the duke of Guise, that his design was to place himself upon the throne, after the death of Henry III. and the cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have resisted the suggestions of the pope, the king of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conspired for his elevation? See the duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book ix. "The duke of Guise "made shew of doing too much, "and did in reality too little: he "ought to have remembered, that "whoever draws his sword against "his prince, ought to have that "instant thrown away the scab-"bard." Sixtus V. when he received the news, cried out, "Oh "that presumptuous duke, and that "weak king." The earl of Stafford, ambassador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of Le Grain, book iv.) "being "advised to take a safe-conduct "from the duke of Guise, I will "have no other security, said he, "than the law of nations, and the "protection of the king to whom "I am sent, whose servants and "subjects you and the duke of "Guise both are." The first president de Harlay answered the duke of Guise with the same firmness, That in the king's absence, he would take his orders from the queen-mother.

There is one piece upon the different conduct of the league and council, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deserves to be read, and is entitled, The Verbal Process of Nicholas Poulain, the mayor of Paris, upon the league, from 1585 to 1588. This Nicholas Poulain, who secretly favoured the king's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This piece of secret history is to be found in the first vol. of the Journal of Henry III's reign, p. 132, and following.

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1588. face never rise through a desire of attacking, but an impatience of suffering.

The just resentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for an insult so cruel, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in some degree, reflected a disgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry III's injurious treatment of himself. He declared his affliction at it in his council, who all with one voice approved of his resolution to assist and defend the king of France; and he sent his secretary immediately to this prince; to assure him, that he might dispose of his person and troops.

The count of Soissons, whose mind was engrossed by perpetual chimeras, looked upon this event as a stroke of fortune, which by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief sway in the council, and court of Henry III. Changing therefore his battery in an instant, he resolved to go and offer his service to this prince; and to give himself more consequence with him, he sought dependents in the court of the king of Navarre, and from amongst his most affectionate servants, whose fidelity he did not scruple upon this occasion to tempt. The king of Navarre, though he was pretty sensible of all the baseness of this conduct, dissembled his sentiments of it; and reflecting that it would be of use to him to have some person with the count of Soissons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and study the new system he pursued at court; he commanded me to give ear to this prince's discourse, and to affect a zeal for him that I was very far from feeling. The count of Soissons suffered himself to be easily deceived; he congratulated himself for having gained me, and treated me with a distinction that did not fail to raise me some enemies, who envied me the share I possessed of his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having received instructions from the king of Navarre, and concerted with

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with him thoſe meaſures which his ſervice required me to take upon this occaſion. 1588.

During our whole journey, the count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that waited him at court. The king of Navarre, he thought, would not even attempt to rival him: amidſt all the ſtrokes of vanity, and inſupportable pride which eſcaped him, there mingled, without his perceiving it, a kind of bitterneſs againſt the king of Navarre, that ſufficiently diſcovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither ſubmit to flatter his inclinations, nor to approve of his ridiculous ſchemes; and all my anſwer was, that I foreſaw the diſunion of the royal family, which had been already the cauſe of ſo many misfortunes, would bring France at laſt under the power of the houſe of Auſtria, after it had made them deſtroy each other. A diſcourſe more ſoothing would have been more to his taſte; but mine, however, ſeemed to bear the marks of a ſincere attachment to him, which could not fail of pleaſing.

We arrived at Nogent-le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the king of France was. We found him in that reſtleſs and unquiet diſpoſition of mind, which a violent reſentment occaſions, and filled with confuſion for the affront he had ſo lately ſuffered. Notwithſtanding all this, he was ſo incapable of taking the advantage of the change in his affairs *, that even at that very time he

* It is believed that if Henry III. had acted with more prudence and ſteadineſs, he would have been ſtill able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Pariſians, in great conſternation at his leaving Paris, ſent deputies to him at Chartres, to intreat him with every kind of ſubmiſſion to return to that city; and to render this deputation more affecting, they made the capuchins walk in proceſſion, and enter the cathedral with the inſtruments of the paſſion, crying Miſericordia. The king received them with that air of majeſty and authority neceſſary upon this occaſion. He ſhewed great favour to the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any ways concerned in the affair of the barricades; the others he threatened

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1588. made the duke of Epernon admiral, and ſoon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the marechal Joyeuſe. The count of Soiſſons was received in a manner ſo different from what he expected, that there needed no more to convince him of the folly of his great projects. The king addreſſing himſelf to me, aſked me if I had quitted the king of Navarre's party? I evaded this perplexing queſtion, by telling him, that in coming to offer my ſervice to his majeſty, I did not think myſelf ſeparated from the king of Navarre, becauſe I was aſſured, that that prince, whoſe intereſts were the ſame with his, would in a little time do the like. I found this anſwer did not diſpleaſe the king; but being ſurrounded, and carefully obſerved by perſons, on whoſe countenances it was eaſy to read the uneaſineſs which my diſcourſe gave them, he concealed his ſentiments. The weakneſs of this prince was indeed incomprehenſible: his real enemies could not be unknown to him, after the audacious manner in which they had ſo lately taken off the maſque; but ſtill feigning ignorance, he again delivered himſelf up to the queen-mother *, and through

with a reſolution never again to enter Paris, and to deprive it of its charters, and ſovereign courts; at which they were ſo greatly alarmed, that the duke of Guiſe was obliged to exert all his art and credit to pacify them.

* In the circular letter that Henry III. ſent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus; "Dear "and well beloved, you have, as "we ſuppoſe, heard the reaſons "that induced us to leave our city "of Paris, the 13th of this "month," &c. This prince ſpeaks more like a ſupplicant than a king; he defends his deſign of introducing a foreign garriſon in Paris, and doubts of the fidelity of the Pariſians. He gives a falſe and bad colour to his flight, and declares that he is ready to begin the war againſt the huguenots, at the head of the league. MS. of the royal library, number 8866, 8891.

The author means the conferences which the queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the cardinal of Bourbon and the duke of Guiſe; to which were alſo admitted, as I find in vol. 8906, of the manuſcripts in the royal library, the lords de Lanſac, Lenoncourt, Des-Chateillers, and Miron, firſt phyſician to his majeſty, who had been employed in carrying meſſages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. Theſe conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a houſe

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her to his perſecutors, with whom ſhe reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this laſt ſtep was in this prince but a ſtroke of the moſt profound diſſimulation; for the bold * action he committed 1588.

belonging to the biſhop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c, The league made moſt extravagant demands there, ſuch as the entire abolition of the pretended reformed religion, the diſmiſſion of all the calviniſt officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquiſition, &c. and at laſt obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21, which was given in conſequence of thoſe conferences. Memoirs of the League, vol. I. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. Chron. Noven. vol. I, and others.

* The death of the two brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guiſe, whom this prince cauſed to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards, the 23d of December at Blois, where he held the ſtates. See this murder in the ſame hiſtorians, with a relation of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the ſtates of Blois. The cardinal of Bourbon was kept priſoner, the other brothers of the duke of Guiſe fled.

The duke of Guiſe periſhed as the admiral Coligny did; preſumption hindered them both from ſeeing the danger with which they were threatened. The duke heeded none of the warnings that were given him; it is ſaid, that the marchioneſs of Noirmoûtier, the ſame lady who made ſo much noiſe under the name of madam de Sauves, came on purpoſe to paſs the night with him; and neither by arguments or intreaties, could hinder him from going the next day to the council.

Some perſons took upon them to juſtify Henry III. for this action, among others the cardinal de Joyeuſe, in a long memorial upon this ſubject, which he ſent from Rome, where he then was. Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. But the moſt judicious of our hiſtorians, and even thoſe who have carried the privilege of the royal authority furtheſt, all deteſt it. "The ſhocking circumſtances of "the murder of the Guiſes, ſays "Perefix, appeared horrible, even "in the eyes of the huguenots, "who ſaid, that it too much re"ſembled the maſſacre of St. Bar"tholomew." On the other ſide it cannot be denied, that Henry III. had no other way of preſerving the crown in his houſe, and perhaps on his own head; for there is not the leaſt probability in what Villeroy aſſerts in his Memoirs, vol. I. p. 25, that the king, without taking that courſe, might have made himſelf maſter of the deliberations of the ſtates of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will.

In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the conſequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to ſuch a ſad neceſſity. He was himſelf a fatal example of this truth, that he who ſtrikes with a knife, ſhall periſh by a knife.

The duke of Guiſe was almoſt adored by the catholics, eſpecially the people, who called him always, *Our great man*. He had a ſcar on the left cheek, below his eye, which only ſerved to make him more reſpected, becauſe he received it fighting againſt the huguenots, at the battle of Château-Thierry, by a piſtol ſhot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, ſo hated by his own family, whom he treated with an inſupportable inſolence, and ſeverity, that we are aſſured his relations, and even his own brothers, through

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1589. againſt the ſtates of Blois, gives us room to believe, that his revenge was never one moment out of his thoughts: and if one might form any judgment of this aſſembly, in all appearance, every individual that compoſed it, had each a ſecret object in view, to which all their deſigns tended, and which ſucceſs diſcovered in ſome, and diſappointment concealed in others.

The death of Catherine de Medicis, which happened ſoon after * the aſſaſſination of the duke of

fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the perſons that ſent Henry III. the moſt certain intelligence of his actions and deſigns; an intelligence which was ſuſpected by this prince, as that given to the duke by many of the courtiers concerning the king's violent reſolution againſt him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence that the deſign was to prevail upon them to quit the party and break with the ſtates of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III. at firſt deſigned only to arreſt the duke of Guiſe, but he found it would be dangerous, and ſtill more to make him priſoner; therefore he determined to have him poignarded. Both the bodies were conſumed in a fire, the bones burnt in a low hall of the caſtle, and the aſhes thrown into the air.

The king of Navarre, who had no hand in this aſſaſſination, was the perſon that gained moſt by it. In all appearance, while the duke of Guiſe lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are aſſured alſo, that there were then great deſigns formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the proteſtant party, but even to dethrone Elizabeth, which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the duke of Guiſe, was only able to hinder the execution of. The king of Navarre lamented the fate of the duke of Guiſe, without blaming Henry III. "I always, ſaid he, "foreſaw, and ſaid, that Meſſieurs "de Guiſe would never under-"take the enterprize they had "conceived, and bring it to an "iſſue, without endangering their "lives." Cayet, vol. I. fol. 114. Several other perſons were of the ſame opinion. "Curſed be Lor-"rain, ſaid Hubert De Vins, in "the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, for "his ſtupidity in ſuppoſing, that "a king, whoſe crown he was "attempting to take away by diſ-"ſimulation, would not likewiſe "diſſemble with him, to take "away his life." "Since they "are ſo near each other, ſaid "madam de Fourbin, the ſiſter "of de Vins, we ſhall hear the "very firſt day, either one or "the other has ſlain his compa-"panion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to ſome to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other aſtrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous ſcience.

* In the opinions of thoſe who have beſtowed ſo many praiſes upon this princeſs, it ſeemed ſufficient to merit the title of a politician, that ſhe knew how to engroſs the management of all affairs, and to keep herſelf in poſſeſſion of authority; but when one reflects, that theſe ſuppoſed abilities,

Guiſe

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Guiſe did not afford Henry III. more liberty to follow his inclinations, which led him to unite himſelf with the king of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the duke of Guiſe; he had the minds of the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the pope to appeaſe, and Spain to keep in bounds, and the diſpleaſure of all the catholics to aſſuage, who, after this execution, were very well diſpoſed to queſtion his religion. 1589.

Henry, like all weak men, magnified theſe difficulties; he flattered himſelf he ſhould reduce every thing to order by mildneſs; and therefore, publickly aſſerted his privelege, explained his reaſons for what he had done, and loudly juſtified his conduct. He ought to have employed arms alone againſt a party, which had no longer any reſpect for the royal authority; and, inſtead of increaſing the preſumption of the populace (who in power are no leſs inſolent, than abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be aſcribed to weakneſs, he ought to have declared himſelf boldly the aſſailant, and ſought for vengeance like a king. Had he acted in this manner, conjunctly

which conſiſted, however, in making uſe of unworthy means, and contemptible artifices, brought things at laſt to ſuch an extremity, that neither ſhe, nor any other, knew any longer what remedies to apply to them; it may be juſtly aſſerted, that the quality of a politician did not compenſate for the numberleſs faults ſhe committed. It is believed, that the fatal conſequences which ſhe apprehended would attend the murder of the Guiſes, in which ſhe had no part, the cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the preſent time, and perhaps the ſtings of her conſcience, haſtened her death, which happened the 5th of January, 1589. She was forgot ſoon afterwards. De Thou, book xciv. Her laſt advice to her ſon was, to put an end to the perſecution againſt the proteſtants, and to eſtabliſh an entire liberty of religion in France. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 132. Brantome's prejudices againſt this queen renders all he has ſaid to her diſadvantage very doubtful, vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 31, and following. Varillas is not more to be believed, when he ſays, that her death was occaſioned by her grief for the murder of the duke, whom ſhe was very fond of. Siri praiſes her like a foreigner, who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court in that time; for he came to France long after the death of that queen. Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. I. page 26.

with

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1589. with the king of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loſs of Orleans, and and an infinite number of other * places; nor had he been at laſt reduced to the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboiſe, Tours, and Samur.

I was either a witneſs to all theſe events, or was ſoon informed of them at Roſny, whither I had retired, as to a place from whence I could eaſily obſerve whatever paſſed at court. I left it, as ſoon as I thought it was neceſſary to give the king of Navarre an account of theſe tranſactions. He had not been a little perplexed himſelf during this interval, in unravelling and overthrowing the ſchemes of the viſcount Turenne; who putting himſelf in the prince of Condé's place, continued all his projects for himſelf, and acted in the ſame manner by the king of Navarre as the duke of Guiſe did by Henry III. In an aſſembly of the proteſtants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the preſent conjuncture, could not poſſibly avoid ſeeing her monarchy diſmembred; and he gave them to underſtand that, in the diviſion which would be made of it, he would not forget himſelf. The king of Navarre complained of this conduct in the ſame aſſemblies; and to engage the proteſtants more firmly to his perſon, he joined actions to words, ſeized upon Garnache, and took Niort † by ſtorm, after a bloody and furious battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerouſly ill ‡ at La Mothe-Frêlon.

* "'Tis a puff of wind, ſaid "Henry III. ſpeaking of thoſe "cities, which has thrown down "a pack of cards."

† In Poitou.

‡ He left St. Hermine, in Lower Poitou, in the month of January, to go and aſſiſt Garnache, which was beſieged by the duke of Nevers. Du-Pleſſis-Mornay led his troops, and he himſelf marched on foot, as if he was ſhooting. He over-heated himſelf, and was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, attended with a fever, which obliged him to ſtop at the firſt houſe he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called La-Mothe-Frêlon. Du-Pleſſis perſuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. Life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 125.

I took

I took my way through Blois, in order to form my last conjectures by the situation in which I should find the court. Although I made use of all possible precautions to avoid being discovered by any person; yet the marquis of Rambouillet * seeing me pass through the street, knew me, tho' wrapt up in my cloak, and ordered me to be watched to my lodging. The marquis was a man of strict honesty, and had always the good of the state in view, without any considerations of self-interest: he conceived, that it belonged to him to draw some advantage from this encounter, to make one more effort upon the king's mind, and prevail upon him at length to throw himself into the arms of the king of Navarre. He found him in such a disposition as he wished, and the king was the rather induced to employ me upon this occasion, as he remembered I had already been sent to him on that business. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was necessary to be done; after which he presented me to his majesty, who confirmed to me himself his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the king of Navarre, made me think it necessary to ask him for a credential letter to that prince; but he denied this request, out of an apprehension that this letter might fall into the hands of Nuncio Morosini †, or the duke of Nevers, to whom, he said, notwithstanding the esteem he had for me, 1589.

* Nicholas D'Angennes.

† John Francis Morosini, bishop of Bresce. Lewis de Gonzague, duke of Nevers. Sixtus V. had just then published a bull of excommunication against Henry, which this prince used his utmost endeavour to get recalled. This pope, who was said to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church secretly approved of that justice which the king of France had executed upon the duke of Guise; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's Memoirs of State vol. II. p. 175. the cardinal de Joyeuse's letters already cited. Sixtus V. foretold, that the league would reduce Henry to the necessity of applying to the king of Navarre and the huguenots for assistance.

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1589. he ſhould be obliged to deliver me, if I was diſcovered in Blois. I gave up this point, therefore; but afterwards demanded, for the ſecurity of the king of Navarre, that when he ſhould enter a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free paſſage over the Loire. This, for the ſame reaſon, was not granted. I did not attribute theſe refuſals to any bad intention of the king's, but only to the fear he was in of thoſe two men, upon whom he had voluntarily made himſelf dependent. I did not, however, believe, that the king of Navarre, without this laſt article was yielded to, would advance with his troops as far as Blois. But this difficulty was removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I viſited before I went away. After telling me, that he ſaw, with grief, this place, like the reſt, would be infallibly loſt by the meaſures the king purſued, he offered to reſign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or any other officer the king of Navarre ſhould approve; adding, that he choſe rather to reſign his poſt, and follow this prince as a volunteer only, than to continue in Beaugency, where his advice was not regarded.

After this aſſurance, I returned immediately to the king of Navarre: this prince liſtened to me attentively, but not being able to ſuppreſs thoſe doubts, which his frequent diſappointments from the king of France had inſpired him with, he often aſked me, with an unquiet tone of voice, and irreſolute action, if I now really thought the king of France ſincere? I proteſted to him that I believed he was; and added the engagement of Rambouillet. "Well then, replied the king, I "will not take his towns, while he continues to "treat faithfully with me;" for he had taken Châtelleraud * that very day. "Return then,

* In Poitou.

"added

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" added he, and carry him my letters; for I nei- 1589.
" ther fear Morosini nor Nevers." Accordingly he made me go with him that moment to breakfast in his closet; and I took post again for Blois.

The king of France, who did not doubt but the king of Navarre's answer would be such as he desired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his train. I found all the lodgings in this little place either taken up or bespoke, so that as I arrived very late, I began to think I should be obliged to pass the night in the street: luckily Maignan found out the marquis of Rambouillet's lodgings, and he provided me with those that had been designed for one of my brothers, who was then at Tours. At midnight I went to the king, who waited for me in a garret of the castle. He approved of, and signed every thing, even to the passage over the Loire; and would have had me to set out again that same night. The report of a treaty between the two kings had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there; and was so passionately desired by the people, that as soon as I appeared, they loaded me with a thousand blessings.

The king of Navarre was already gone from thence. This prince, who depended upon nothing but his sword, being informed that the league had entered Argenton *, marched hastily thither, and arrived so seasonably, that he forced the troops of the league to dislodge, before they had received the supplies necessary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in this place, after I had visited the castle, and put it into a condition of defence.

The fatigue I had suffered from so many successive journeys, threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days. Du-Plessis took advantage of this

* In the Upper Poitou.

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1589. accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of drawing up, and in which the marquis of Rambouillet * had as great a ſhare as himſelf. This treaty was ſigned at Pleſſis les-Tours, to the great ſatisfaction of the two kings. Saumur was the place of ſecurity that was agreed upon, and Du-Pleſſis † did not fail to procure the government of it, as a fit reward for him to whom they were obliged for the ſucceſs of the treaty.

This proceeding appeared to me ſo extremely unjuſtifiable, that I complained loudly of Du-Pleſſis, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, who had beſtowed the fruit of my labour upon another. The count of Soiſſons, who never had any regard to the general intereſt, or took part in the public joy, made uſe of this circumſtance to endeavour to engage me in his new deſigns; and my two brothers, on the other ſide, preſſed me earneſtly to attach myſelf wholly to the party of the king of France: but I rejected this propoſition, nor was my fidelity to my prince to be ſhaken by all the efforts which were made to ſeduce me. When I reflected alſo, that the government of Saumur would have obliged me to a conſtant reſidence there, and by conſequence have removed me always from the king of Navarre, I found, that what had appeared an act of injuſtice, was, in reality, a favour, which merited my acknowledgment.

Nothing now remained for the two kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their future enterprizes. For this purpoſe, the king of Navarre ſet out from Pleſſis-les-Tours. Still aſſaulted by ſome remains of diſtruſt ‡, which

* It is but juſt to inform the reader, that theſe facts are related very differently in the life of Du-Pleſſis Mornay, book i. p. 131; but to which of the writers moſt credit ought to be given is not eaſy to decide.

† Philip Mornay, lord of Pleſſis Marly.

‡ "His old huguenot officers, "they ſay, were afraid, that at a "time when treachery was ſo "neceſſary to Henry III. to ex-"tricate him out of the laby-

he

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he could with difficulty ſuppreſs, he ſtopped near a mill, about two leagues from the caſtle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen that compoſed his train, upon the ſtep he was going to take. I was amongſt them, and the remembrance of the injuſtice, as I then thought it, which he had offered me, keeping me ſilent: the king of Navarre turning to me, "You ſay no-"thing, ſaid he, what are your thoughts of the "matter?" I anſwered, in few words, That it was true, the ſtep he was taking was not without danger, becauſe the troops of the king of France were ſuperior to his; but that I looked upon this to be one of thoſe circumſtances, in which ſomething ought to be left to chance; and that as for the reſt, one ought to content one's ſelf with uſing all the precautions which prudence could ſuggeſt. This prince pauſing for a few moments, then turning towards us, "Let us go on*, ſaid he, my "reſolution is fixed." 1589.

The king of France came into the field to meet the king of Navarre, and the joy of an union which had been ſo ardently deſired, drew together ſo great a concourſe of people, that the two kings continued above a quarter of an hour, at the diſtance of fifty paces from each other, without being able to approach nearer: at length the croud giving way, they embraced with equal ſatisfaction on both ſides †, and took the road together to Tours,

"rinth into which the action he "had committed at Blois had introduced him (for he had been "excommunicated by Sixtus V.) "he would not ſcruple to purchaſe "his abſolution at the price of the "king of Navarre's life." Pereſix, ibid. This prince had often himſelf ſaid, as De Thou relates, "That he never went to the king's "cloſet but through the midſt of "two armies, ranged on each "ſide."

* He wrote to Du-Pleſſis-Morpay, in theſe terms: "Monſieur "Du-Pleſſis, the ice is broken, "not without many warnings, "that if I went I ſhould be a "dead man: I paſſed the water, "recommending myſelf to God," &c.

† At the bridge of La-Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours: "Courage, my lord, ſaid Henry "IV. to Henry III. two Henrys "are worth more than one Ca-"rolus." Matthew, vol. I. p. 152. The duke of Maïenne's name was Charles.

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1589. where the king of Navarre lay one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I ſtaid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and fixed my reſidence in the ſuburb St. Symphorien.

The duke of Maïenne, who had taken arms to revenge the death of the duke of Guiſe, and to ſupport the intereſt of the league, had no deſign to leave us long in quiet, but marched with his whole army towards this city. The king, who had walked as far as Marmoutier *, unarmed, and attended only by twenty horſe, narrowly eſcaped being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The ſuburbs having no other intrenchments than ſome ſlight barricades, erected in haſte, by ſix or ſeven regiments of royaliſts, who defended them, I quitted the ſuburb of St. Symphorien, and ordered all my equipage to be carried into the city. My conduct was by the officers taxed with timidity; but it was not long ere it was ſufficiently juſtified.

The duke of Maïenne attacked the ſuburb. He was ſtopped ſome moments by means of five or ſix houſes, on the top of the hill, where our people had poſted themſelves; but they were ſoon obliged to abandon them, in order to intrench themſelves behind the baricadoes, where expecting ſoon to be aſſaulted, they made uſe of this interval to ſnatch a haſty refreſhment.

I met the king at the gate of the city, and making me enter, he told me, that he believed it would be in vain to endeavour to defend the ſuburbs. In effect, the barricades could not reſiſt the enemy's cannon; they were forced at the firſt onſet, and as they had no ditch to ſupport them, their retreat into the city was ſo confuſed, and ſo much expoſed to the enemy, that I am ſurpriſed all the

* An abbey near Tours.

ſoldiers

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ſoldiers in the ſuburbs were not either taken or ſlain, and that the enemies did not even enter the city along with them. Two pieces of cannon would have been ſufficient for that purpoſe. I ſaw the flight of our people from the convent of Jacobins, which looked over the walls of the city; and fearing that the danger would increaſe, I ran with my two brothers to the gate, to which they all preſt tumultuouſly, and by means of ſome intrenchments we ordered to be made, rendered their retreat more ſecure, and with a little time and order, they all entered; after which we cloſed up the gate, and ſet a ſtrong guard over it. 1589.

It was no longer doubted, but that the city would be beſieged in form. I joined Chatillon, and ſome others, and we went to intreat the king to confide ſome important poſt to our care; he gave us the Iſles *, and we laboured there without ceaſing from that moment, till the next morning, that the king came to viſit our work. He addreſſed himſelf to me, and praiſed our diligence greatly, but it was uſeleſs; for at the firſt news of what had happened, the king of Navarre marched haſtily with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before the city. The duke of Maïenne would not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the ſuburbs, and the neighbouring places. A ſervice of this importance gave great hopes of what an alliance between the two kings might produce, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the king of Navarre † as their deliverer.

The two kings continued together eight or ten days, after which they ſeparated for the expedition that had been projected on the city of Poitiers. While they carried on the works there, the king of Navarre ſent me with three hundred horſe, and

* Read the iſle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by watermen, and the meaneſt people, is of great conſequence to the defence of Tours.

† Henry IV. highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III. who ſhewed great courage upon this occaſion. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 589.

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1589. a like number of arquebuſiers, to whom he alſo gave horſes, to defend Chartres, it having been diſcovered, that Maintenon † was ſecretly endeavouring to poſſeſs himſelf of this city, in the name of the league. I provided myſelf with rope-ladders, petards, and other inſtruments, and came directly to Bonneval ‡, without taking any refreſhment that whole day. Some priſoners whom we took from a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us, that the enemy had a party of four hundred horſe in the field, with Broſſe Saveuſe * at their head; and that Reclainville † who led the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for a body of a hundred and twenty horſe with which Lorges †† had juſt ſurprized Châteaudun. We concluded from this account, that the party of four hundred horſe wanted to come up with us; and we, on our ſide, having the ſame deſire, left our arquebuſiers to purſue the road to Chartres leiſurely, and taking ours through the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's ſquadron, we met them on the top of a ſmall hill, which each party had climbed up on his own ſide; ſo that we neither ſaw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other.

We came to blows immediately §, and with ſo much fury, that by the firſt ſhock forty of our men were thrown to the ground. I was of this number, together wieh Meſſ. De Chatillon ‖ de Mouy, De Montbazon, D'Avantigny, and De Preſſaigny. Happily I had received no wound; my horſe, who was only cut in the jaw, got up again, and I found myſelf ſtill on his back. Per-

† Lewis D'Angennes, lord of Maintenon.

‡ A town upon the confines of Perche.

* Charles de Tiercelin, and Anne his brother; the eldeſt was called Saveuſe, and the youngeſt De Broſſe.

† Lewis de Alonville, lord of Reclainville, or l'Arclainville, who commanded in Chartres for the duke of Maïenne.

†† — de Montgomery of Lerges.

§ May 18.

‖ Francis de Chatillon, the admiral's ſon, the leader of the troop. Iſaac Vaudré de Mouy. Lewis de Rohan, duke of Montbazon.

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haps there never was an action, of this kind of combat, more furious, obſtinate, or more bloody. Four or five times we returned to the charge, the enemies rallying again the moment they were put into diſorder. I had two ſwords broke, and was obliged to have recourſe to a pair of piſtols loaded with ſteel balls, againſt which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had loſt two hundred of their men, left us at laſt in poſſeſſion of the field of battle. 1589.

We were not in a condition to enjoy the fruits of our victory: extreme wearineſs, and the pain of our wounds kept us motionleſs. A little reſt was all we wiſhed for, when a heavy rain fell, which, mixing with our ſweat, wet us all over in an inſtant; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our cloaths: and to compleat our misfortunes, we learnt that the duke of Maïenne was at our heels. In this melancholy ſituation, a council being held, it was reſolved, notwithſtanding the condition we were in, that we ſhould march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency. We arrived there, almoſt ſpent with fatigue and thirſt. My ſtrength being quite exhauſted, all I could do was to ſink down upon a bed, nor was it poſſible to awake me to take any nouriſhment.

The report of this battle being ſpread every where, the king of Navarre came to Beaugency to viſit us, and expreſſed himſelf highly ſatisfied with our behaviour. Saveuſe being among the priſoners, was brought before him, and the king, who, from the ſame principle of generoſity careſſed the brave, and compaſſionated the unfortunate, endeavoured to conſole him, by praiſes on his conduct, and every kind of good treatment. But Saveuſe knowing that a great number of his relations, and almoſt all his friends, periſhed in the fight, his grief for their loſs, the ſhame he felt at being vanquiſhed, and the dangerous wounds he had received, inſpired ſuch an extreme deſpair, that he became delirious,

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1589. lirious, and died in the frenzy of a raging fever, without ſuffering his wounds to be dreſt. The king of Navarre made us ſet out for Chateaudun, where eight days reſt entirely obliterated all remembrance of our paſt fatigues.

I was upon the point of leaving this place, when a courier brought me news that my wife was dangerouſly ill. I flew to Roſny, with Dortoman *, firſt phyſician to the king of Navarre, whom this prince ordered to accompany me. All this canton was in the intereſts of the league; and one of my brothers †, who had taken poſſeſſion of my houſe, the ſame wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to draw up the bridge, and refuſe me entrance. Pierced to my inmoſt ſoul, with a treatment ſo inhuman, I ſwore I would enter, or periſh in the attempt, and already began to apply ladders to the walls, when my brother, who did not perhaps expect ſo much reſolution, ordered the gate to be opened.

The only conſolation I had was to find my wife ſtill alive, and to receive her laſt embraces: all remedies were ineffectual, and ſhe died four days after my arrival. The loſs of a wife ſo dear to me, and whoſe life had been expoſed to ſuch cruel viciſſitudes of fortune, ſhut my heart during a whole month to every other paſſion but grief. I heard with inſenſibility the progreſs of the arms of the two kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent deſire of ſharing in their dangers and glory; for it was about this time, that they took Gergeau, Pluviers, Eſtampes, Chartres ‡, Poiſſy, Pontoiſe, the iſle Adam, Beaumont, and Creil. Every little inconſiderable town boaſted of having ſtopped her king, who found nothing but revolt and diſobedience over all his do-

* Nicholas Dortoman, a native of Arnheim.

† This is certainly the eldeſt, who was called the baron of Roſny.

‡ Towns in the neighbourhood of Paris, in the iſle of France, La Beauce, and L'Orleans. See an account of this in the hiſtorians.

minions.

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minions. He was now ſenſible of the great advantage he drew from the king of Navarre's aſſiſtance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it: wherever there was moſt danger, there was he to be ſeen at the head of his ſoldiers. In one of thoſe many encounters he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to reſt himſelf, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, this colonel was, by a muſket-ſhot, laid dead at his feet. 1589.

I awaked as from a deep ſleep at the news * of the two kings holding Paris beſieged; and leaving a place where every object I ſaw renewed my affliction, I went to join the army. It was here that I ſoothed that grief which ſtill filled my heart, by expoſing myſelf careleſly in all the ſkirmiſhes we had with the enemy, then more frequent than ever, particularly in the field, which was called the Scholars meadow. The king of Navarre perceived my deſign, and obſerving that Maignan, my equery, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durſt not do it, he deſired him only to tell me, that he wanted to ſpeak to me.

Scarce had he uttered one word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who whiſpered ſomething in his ear, and left him immediately. The king of Navarre, amazed at what he had heard, called me again inſtantly, and told me an aſſaſſin had dangerouſly wounded the king of France with a knife †: then mounting his horſe, and attended

* If we may believe Matthieu, vol. II. p. 3. theſe two kings were greatly diſſatisfied with each other. Henry III. could not conceal his jealouſy of Henry IV. who far from expecting to reign, reſolved to retire as ſoon as he had reeſtabliſhed the king upon his throne.

† By James Clement, a jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village in Burgundy. He was introduced by La Gueſle, the ſolicitor general, into the king's chamber, as having a letter of great conſequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindneſs for monks, roſe from the cloſe-ſtool upon which he was ſitting, having already read part of the letter, when the aſſaſſin ſtruck him in the belly with a knife, which he left ſticking in the wound. The king drew it out and wounded the jacobin with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by the gentle-

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1589. only by five and twenty gentlemen who were about him, took the road to St. Cloud, which was the king's quarters. At his entrance into this prince's apartment, he found he had juſt received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. The king of Navarre approached

men of his chamber. His body was burnt, and the aſhes thrown into the Seine. The hiſtorians have not forgot to obſerve, as a circumſtance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III. was murdered in the ſame houſe and (if we believe them) in the ſame chamber, place, and month, where ſeventeen years before that prince had aſſiſted at the council, in which the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew was reſolved upon. Monſieur Bayle ſeems to have given credit to this anecdote, which is now proved to be falſe, the houſe at the time of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew not being built. Hery III. died in the night between the ſecond and third of Auguſt, aged 38 years. "James Clement being at "St. Cloud, ſome perſons, who "ſuſpected him, went at night "into his chamber to obſerve him. "They found him in a profound "ſleep, his breviary before him, "open at the article of Judith. "He faſted, confeſſed himſelf, and "received the ſacrament before he "ſet out to aſſaſſinate the king. "He was praiſed for this action at "Rome, in the chair where Hen"ry the Third's funeral oration "ought to have been pronounced. "At Paris, his picture was placed "on the altars with the euchariſt. "Cardinal de Retz relates, that "on the anniverſary day of the "barricadoes, in the minority of "Lewis XIV. he ſaw a gorget "upon which this monk was en"graved, with theſe words under"neath, St. James Clement." Notes upon the Henriade.

"The king of Navarre," ſays Victor Gayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 223. "kneeled at his bedſide, "ſighs and tears not permitting "him to ſpeak a word. He took "his majeſty's hands between his, "and kiſſed them. The king, "perceiving that he was ſilent "through the ſtrong emotions with "which he was agitated, em"braced his head, kiſſed him, and "gave him his benediction. Had "not the knife been poiſoned, the "wound would not have been "mortal; for it was not deep, "and had not reached the in"teſtines. fol. 217. Bourgoin, "prior of the Jacobins, was tore "to pieces by four horſes. They "could extort nothing but theſe "words from him, *We have done "what we could, but not what we "would have done*; which made it "be believed, that Henry IV. was "deſigned to have been aſſaſſinated "at the ſame time. The ſieur de "Rougemont was arreſted, for "having deſired to ſtrike the blow "himſelf." fol. 228. He died like a good chriſtian. "He forgave "his enemies, and even Clement "himſelf," ſays Matthieu the hiſtorian. See, in the hiſtorians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is ſaid of him in theſe Memoirs. He was called, at his baptiſm, Edward Alexander, by Edward VI. king of England, and Antony king of Navarre; but Catherine made him afterwards aſſume the name of his father.

It is ſaid, that ſeventeen or eighteen perſons having gathered up the aſhes of Clement, which the wind had diſperſed, getting into a boat with theſe aſhes, the boat was ſwallowed up by the Seine, and all that were in it.

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his bed, amidſt all the agitation and grief that the 1589.
ſincereſt friendſhip could inſpire. The king comforted him with aſſurances, that his wound would have no bad conſequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced theſe words in ſuch a manner, as removed part of the king of Navarre's apprehenſions, who ſeeing likewiſe no appearance of any dangerous ſymptom, left him to his repoſe, and returned to his quarters at Meudon.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this caſtle, in the houſe of a man named Sauvat. After I had attended the king of Navarre to his apartment, I went home to ſup, and had juſt placed myſelf at table, when I ſaw Ferret his ſecretary enter, who ſaid to me, "Sir, the king of Navarre, and perhaps the king of France, deſires you will come to him inſtantly." Surpriſed at theſe words, I went with him immediately to the caſtle; and as we walked, he told me that Dortoman had informed the king of Navarre, by an expreſs, that if he would ſee the king of France alive, he had not a moment to loſe.

I went directly to the king of Navarre's apartment, where while our horſes were ſaddling, he did me the honour to conſult me upon the preſent conjuncture. So many different thoughts preſented themſelves to my mind that moment, that I continued ſome time ſilent, nor was the king in leſs agitation. It was not the event of a little negotiation, the ſucceſs of a battle, or the poſſeſſion of a ſmall kingdom, ſuch as Navarre, that employed his thoughts, but the greateſt monarchy in Europe. But how many obſtacles had he to ſurmount, how many labours to endure, ere he could hope to obtain it! All that he had hitherto done, was nothing in compariſon to what remained to do. How cruſh a party ſo powerful, and in ſuch high credit, that

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1589. it had given fears to a prince eſtabliſhed on the throne, and almoſt obliged him to deſcend from it! This difficulty already ſo great, appeared inſurmountable, when he reflected, that the king's death would deprive him of the beſt and greateſt part of his forces. He could have no dependence either on the princes of the blood, or the grandees; and in his preſent condition he had occaſion for every one's aſſiſtance, yet he had no one in whom he could confide. I was ſtruck with fear, when he ſuggeſted to me, that it was probable ſuch ſurpriſing, and unexpected news might occaſion a revolution, which would expoſe him with only a few of his moſt faithful ſervants to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was abſolutely deſtitute of every reſource.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, every one confeſt that the king of Navarre had but one part to take, which was to ſeize this opportunity, and uſe it with all thoſe precautions which generally determine the event. Without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many accidents, much leſs to ſubject it to our precipitation; in bold and difficult enterprizes, we ſhould endeavour to ſubdue one obſtacle at a time; nor ſuffer ourſelves to be depreſt by their greatneſs, and their number. We ought never to deſpair of what has been once accompliſhed. How many things have the idea of impoſſible been annexed to, that have become eaſy to thoſe who knew how to take advantage of time, opportunity, lucky moments, the faults of others, different diſpoſitions, and an infinite number of other circumſtances?

The anſwer I made the king was founded on theſe maxims; and we agreed that, inſtead of going back to the diſtant provinces, he ſhould remain in the midſt of the royal army to ſupport his claim, and ſet out immediately for St. Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our extraordinary arms concealed, that we might

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might not ourſelves be the firſt to create terror and ſuſpicion. When we entered St. Cloud, they told us the king was better; and obliged us to put off our ſwords. I followed the king of Navarre, who advanced towards the caſtle, when ſuddenly we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, we are "loſt." The king of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the "king is dead," aſked him ſeveral queſtions, which he ſatisfied by ſuch a circumſtantial recital of the king's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it. 1589.

Henry no longer doubted, when he ſaw the Scots guard, who threw themſelves at his feet, ſaying, "Ah, Sire! you are now our king and "our maſter." And ſome moments after, Meſſ. de Biron *, De Bellegarde, D'O, De Chateauvieux, De Dampierre, and ſeveral others, did the ſame.

The king of Navarre was convinced that this was one of thoſe critical moments, upon the good or bad uſe of which his deſtiny depended. Without ſuffering himſelf to be dazzled with the view of a throne, to which he was that inſtant called, or oppreſt by difficulties, and uſeleſs grief, he calmly began to give orders for keeping every one in their duty, and preventing mutinies: then turning to me, with that familiar air which he uſed to thoſe of whoſe affection he was aſſured, he bid me go to the marechal de Aumont's † quarters, and there, with all the precaution neceſſary to his intereſt, ſpread among his troops the news of the king's death, and to ſpeak by this marechal to the French guards, to engage their offices to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the like. He recommended to me to obſerve my own quarters carefully,

* Armand de Gontaut, marechal de Biron. Roger de St. Larry de Bellegarde, grand ecuyer of France. Francis D'O, governor of Paris, and ſuperintendant of the Finances. Joachim de Châteauvieux,

† John duke D'Aumont, marechal of France.

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1589. and keep all there in due obedience. After which he applied himself to gain all the foreign powers, on whose assistance he thought he might depend, and wrote or sent deputies to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and the republic of Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the claim which it gave him to the crown of France.

I represented to him, that it was absolutely necessary to get possession of Meulan * immediately; a place, upon this occasion, of the utmost importance, the governor of which (who was called St. Marc) he knew to be a zealous partisan of the league in his heart. I explained to him in few words how easily this might be executed, and the king approving my scheme, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with St. Marc, upon affairs I said of the greatest consequence to him. He came to me, and while I amused him with a feigned confidence, the marechal D'Aumont passed over the bridge with his troops, and taking advantage of the consternation this occasioned, proceeded to the castle, which he made himself master of, and we drove out the too credulous St. Marc.

The king offered me this government, but from many considerations I chose not to accept of it. Part of his apprehensions were soon justified by the event; he found it impossible to keep either the duke of Epernon †, or many other disaffected

* In the isle of France.

† The author of his life assigns very bad reasons for this retreat: it is plain that nothing can excuse it. Upon this occasion it appears, that besides the protestant party, there were three others among the catholics themselves, the first of which was composed of those persons who abandoned Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. the second, those who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare that very moment, that he would embrace the catholic religion, continued with him, but had neither affection to his person, nor a sincere attachment to his interest. The number of these was very great; the chief among them were the dukes of Longueville, and Nevers, D'O, (who had spoken to him in the name of the rest) and many others. The third party was made up of those who declared publicly, says D'Aubigné, that they would serve the king without any conditions: and these were indeed but very few in number, among which were the marechals

catholics,

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catholics, in his ſervice, eſpecially thoſe who owed their fortune to the deceaſed king. Their diſſention reduced him almoſt to thoſe troops only, which he had brought with him, and put it out of his power to continue the ſiege of Paris, or even to hold the adjacent places. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but promiſes, or offered him ſuch ſupplies as could be of no uſe, in his preſent exigencies: he was obliged therefore to retire into the heart of the kingdom. He had already (tho' without diſcovering his real motive for it) cauſed a report to be ſpread among his ſoldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was equally neceſſary for the ſafety of his perſon, and the ſucceſs of his affairs. A thouſand dangers threatened him in the neighbourhood of a city, where the king his predeceſſor, tho' a catholic, and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not eſcape a violent death. It was here that the laſt reſolution was taken for the murder of this prince; and he had ſtill more reaſon to tremble, when he reflected that thoſe cruel deſigns were formed in the midſt of his army, and the aſſaſſins perhaps near his perſon. 1589.

In this perplexing ſituation, it was neceſſary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment ready to defend it againſt the league, which becoming inſolent by the king's death, in imagination already enjoyed the conqueſt of it. I having no regiment, nor ſufficient time to raiſe one, the government of Meulan was given to Bellengreville *.

D'Aumont, and Biron, Givry, &c. Henry was extremely perplexed at the rude propoſition made him by the catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this ſatisfaction. He told them reſolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been conſtrained to take ſuch a ſtep. And demanded ſix months times to think upon it. See the hiſtorians upon this ſubject, and particularly D'Aubigné vol. III. book ii. chap. 23. Henry IV. received ſuch important ſervices upon this occaſion from the marechal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him king: and the marechal is ſaid to have reproached Henry with his ſervices in thoſe very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. III. p. 346.

* Read, Joachim de Berengueville.

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1589. The king, in his retreat, took Clermont *, and some other small towns. His forces were too inconsiderable to admit of his engaging in greater enterprizes, which was the reason likewise that I missed of taking of Louviers †, upon which I had a design that in all appearance would have succeeded. This design I communicated to the king, and desired he would give me some forces for the execution of it. He could spare me no more than a company of his light-armed horse, commanded by Arambure, which was not sufficient; but he assured me that I should be joined at Louviers by a regiment of twelve hundred men, which was then at Nogent; and for this purpose he wrote to Couronneau the colonel of it.

With this hope I sat down before Louviers, where I waited in vain for the supplies that had been promised me. The river of Eure, which ran into the ditches of Louviers, being turned, a great aqueduct that supplied the city with water, became dry. This I observed, and it was through this place that I proposed to enter it; but as it was not probable, that Messieurs d'Aumale §, de la Londe, de Fontaine-Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, of which this city was full, would surrender, or suffer themselves to be taken, without striking a blow, I thought it would be rashness to attempt to force it with a handful of men: in order therefore to justify the truth of what I had asserted, I contented myself with sending several persons into the aqueduct, where I employed them only in enlarging the entrance, by forcing up with a petard the grate that closed it. By this means they several times penetrated into the city, and came out again

* In Beavaisis.

† A city of Normandy.

§ Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale; — Bigars de le Londe, mayor of Rouen; Francis de Fontaine-Martel, governor of Neufchâtel; Charles-Francis de Rouxel de Medavy; Timoleon de Brives de Contenant.

without

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without being perceived, which was a convincing proof that our attempt would have ſucceeded, if we had had a ſufficient number of ſoldiers. 1589.

I returned by Pont-de-l'Arche, to meet the king of Navarre, at Ecoüy, from whence he hoped to go immediately to Touraine; but he found the Normans ſo well inclined towards him, that he was determined by their offers, to attempt the important ſiege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this expedition, we took Gournay *, Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal; where the king received advice that the duke of Maïenne was very deſirous of coming to a battle with him. I was ordered to go with fifty horſe to reconnoitre this general's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and ſpread all over my eſtate. I went, and poſted myſelf in the foreſt; from whence I made obſervations, and brought the king information, that the army of the league conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. The king, who had only a little flying camp to oppoſe to ſo formidable an army, was not willing to neglect any precaution which might be neceſſary. He had already cauſed the commander of Chaſtes † to be ſounded, to know if in any caſe of neceſſity, he would receive him into Dieppe: and he had reaſon to be pleaſed with his anſwer; but, in order to be better aſſured of this governor's intentions, he went himſelf to confer with him, and returned extremely well ſatisfied. Finding therefore that he might depend upon a retreat ſo ſecure as Dieppe ‡, he the leſs feared to keep the field before the enemy; and re-

* In Upper Normandy.

† Aimat de Chaſtes, knight of St. Lazarus, and governor of Dieppe.

‡ Henry IV. it is ſaid, was reduced to ſuch an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into England; which the marechal de Biron prevented, by adviſing him to make good his poſt at Arques. Before the battle of Arques, he ſaid, that he was a king without a kingdom, a huſband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

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1589. ſolving to make head againſt them till the laſt extremity, he came and poſted himſelf before Arques *.

At the end of the cauſeway of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice: beneath is a ſpace of arable land, in the midſt of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each ſide. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great marſh or boggy ground. A village called Martingliſe † bounds the hill, about half a league from the cauſeway. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the duke of Maïenne was encamped. The king was ſenſible, that by attempting to reſiſt an army of above thirty thouſand men, with leſs than three thouſand, his conduct would be accuſed of raſhneſs; but beſides, that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the preſent weak condition his party was in, demanded ſome bold blow at the beginning. He neglected nothing that might compenſate, in ſome degree, for the ſmallneſs of his number; he ordered deep trenches to be cut at the cauſeway, and above as well as beneath the great road: he poſted twelve hundred Swiſs on each ſide of this road, and ſix hundred German foot to defend the upper trenches; and placed a thouſand or twelve hundred others in a chapel, which ſtood in the midſt of the upper and lower trenches. Theſe were all the infantry he had: his cavalry, which amounted in all to but ſix hundred men, he divided into two equal ſquadrons; and with one, poſted himſelf between the wood and the road, and ſeparating the other into platoons, made them go down between the road and the moraſs, to fill in ſome ſort that ſpace. He did not ſleep that whole night; during which,

* In the country of Caux. † Or Martin Egliſe.

fearing

fearing that the enemies would make themſelves masters of the cauſeway, he kept guard there himſelf. In the morning they brought him ſome refreſhments into the Trench, where he invited his principal officers to breakfaſt with him; after which he thought, perhaps, to have taken a few moments reſt, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle. 1589.

At this news, he ordered the viſcount de Chartres, Palcheux, Braſſeuſe, Avantigny, and three or four others, to advance into the wood, and endeavour to make ſome priſoners; they ſoon returned, bringing with them the count de Belin *. The king went to meet him, and embraced him ſmiling. The count, whoſe eyes were in ſearch of the king's army, ſeeing hardly any ſoldiers about him, anſwered him no otherways than by expreſſing his ſurprize at the ſmall number that ſeemed to be with him. "You ſee not all," ſaid the king to him with the ſame gaity: "for you reckon not "God, and my claim, who fight for me." Accuſtomed as I was to ſee this prince, I could not help admiring the tranquillity that ſat upon his countenance, on an occaſion ſo much the more deſperate, as it gave time for reflection. His air was ſo ſerene, and his ardor tempered with ſo much prudence, that he appeared to the ſoldiers as ſomething more than human, and inſpired them all with the intrepidity of their leader.

The duke of Maïenne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a ſquadron of his German foot, who ſeemed to refuſe fighting, becauſe they had only Germans to encounter, and feigned to ſurrender. Our Germans were ſo effectually deceived by this artifice, that they ſuffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous poſt

* Francis de Faudoas, d'Averton de Serillac, count of Belin, deputy governor of Paris for the duke of Maïenne.

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1589. they gave us a great deal of trouble. I ſoon loſt ſight of all that was done at the ſide of the wood; for that part of the moraſs where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a ſquadron of eight or nine hundred horſe. At the approach of ſo large a body, we drew together about a hundred and fifty horſe, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other ſquadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till being joined in our turn by the count D'Auvergne *, who brought a hundred and fifty horſe more to our aſſiſtance, we a ſecond time beat back the enemies ſquadrons. This game could not laſt long: three hundred horſe from the enemies army joining the firſt, we were forced to give ground, and regained the chapel in diſorder; where fortunately our foot ſoldiers, who were poſted there, ſtopped this cavalry ſhort, and engaged in a battle, wherein Sagonne † and ſome other officers were ſlain.

The duke of Maïenne commanding all the reſt of his German foot to attack the chapel, we yielded at length this poſt; and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the

* Charles de Valois, natural ſon of Charles IX. He is mentioned hereafter. It is upon the relation of this count, afterwards duke of Angoulême, that father Daniel, in his hiſtory of France, vol. IX. has given a deſcription of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but little from that in our Memoirs. See alſo father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 14. and following. Cayet, vol. I. book ii. fol. 263, and following. The Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 597. and the Phyſician Du Cheſne's account, &c. This battle was fought on Wedneſday September the 20th: it began at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at eleven. The duke of Maïenne, five days before, made ſeveral attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *eſcarmouches du Polket*. "My companion, ſaid Henry IV. to Arregner, colonel of the regiment of Soleure, I come to die, or to gain honour with you." "He drove back the treacherous Germans," &c. Le Grain, book v. My father, ſaid this prince, to colonel Galati, keep a pike for me, for I will fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu ibid. p. 14. After the battle, he wrote to Grillon in theſe terms, "Hang thyſelf, brave Grillon, for we have fought at Arques without thee. Adieu, brave Grillon, I love thee whether I will or not."

† John Babou, count of Sagonne. Lewis de Rohan, and Joſias de la Rochefoucaut, counts of Montbazon and de Rouſſy, loſt their lives alſo there.

road

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road itself. This might be called the beginning of a defeat; we should have had reason to fear the event, had we not happily met the battalion of Swiss, who sustained the shock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. My horse that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a fresh one. To vanquish the brave resistance of our Swiss, the enemies thought proper to order five hundred horse to march along the side of the morass: they would have taken us in the rear, and have easily overwhelmed the Swiss, and the rest of the soldiers, when luckily the horses approaching too near the morass, they remained entangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty disengaged them, by leaving their lances sticking there. 1589.

The battle continued some time longer in this state; that is to say, while we had any strength left; but at length we began to sink under the fatigue. On our side the same men were always in action, while our enemies were sustained with fresh supplies, and multiplied every moment. Great part of our brigade was disarmed and dismounted: in this extremity, I was deputed by the troop to represent our situation to the king, and to ask him for a reinforcement. I met this prince coming to our quarter: "My friend, said he to me, "I have no supplies to send you; however, we "must not suffer ourselves to be depressed." In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned towards monsieur le Grand *, and bid him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with a seeming joy informed them of the supply that was coming; upon which, however, I but little depended. Inspired with fresh vigour, it may be truly said, that at that moment every man gave proofs of a valour

* Roger de St. Sarry, of Bellegarde.

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1589. ſcarcely credible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewiſe our danger; but when this fog was diſſipated, the ſun ſhewed us to them, and diſcovered their whole army to our view, which was pouring upon us. It was already ſo near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the cauſeway, where our laſt intrenchment was, and we thought of nothing but ſelling our lives dearly.

Our ſafety we owed to a circumſtance that we had looked upon as our greateſt misfortune. The cannon of the caſtle of Arques had been rendered uſeleſs by the thickneſs of the fog; but as ſoon as the enemies could be diſtinguiſhed, it made a diſcharge ſo juſt, and was followed by ſo terrible an effect, although there were but four pieces of cannon, that the enemies were thrown into confuſion. Four other vollies ſucceeded with ſuch rapidity, as went quite through their army; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in diſorder to the ſide of the valley: behind which, ſome moments after, all this terrible multitude were loſt; aſtoniſhed, without doubt, at the great loſs they had ſuſtained, and diſheartened by a reſiſtance which the duke of Maïenne had not expected.

The king, after an action which covered him with glory, retired to Arques, from thence he went to Dieppe, harraſſed continually by the enemies, and engaged in frequent ſkirmiſhes; the detail of which I ſuppreſs, as having nothing very intereſting after the battle of Arques. The king, however, in one of theſe rencounters, found himſelf expoſed to a danger ſtill greater: for, believing the enemies at a diſtance, he was exerciſing a kind of military game in a meadow, and ſuſtained a diſcharge from two hundred fuſileers, who lay in ambuſh upon the ground between two hedges, not more than two hundred paces from the place where we were.

It

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It is certain, that any other than Henry would have ſunk under theſe difficulties, before he could have been relieved by the ſupplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour *, and his ſkill in diſputing the ground, he gave time for four thouſand Engliſh and Scotch, that queen Elizabeth ſent him, to paſs the ſea; and this reinforcement was ſoon after followed by one more conſiderable, which was brought him by the count of Soiſſons, Henry of Orleans, duke of Longueville, D'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the count of Soiſſons that he was ſo often in danger at Dieppe, who amuſed himſelf with diſputing about the command of the forces, inſtead of haſtening to the king's aſſiſtance. 1589.

The duke of Maïenne durſt not wait for the junction of all theſe troops; he diſappeared with his army, and left the king maſter of the field. Henry, then changing his reſolution of keeping in Normandy, ſet out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He paſſed through Meulan and Poiſſy †, and from thence diſpatched me with the duke of Montpenſier ‡, to endeavour to perfect a correſpondence he had a long time before begun in Vernon, or to ſeize the city by means of that terror which his approach would cauſe in it. We found no probability of ſucceeding in either of theſe deſigns; therefore, the duke of

* "Sixtus V. preſaged, that "the Bearnois would be the uppermoſt, ſince he was not longer "in bed than the duke of Maïenne "was at table. The duke of Maïenne was extremely ſlow in all "his motions. If he does not "act in another manner, ſaid the "king, I ſhall certainly beat him "always in the field." Perefix, ibid. 2. The ſame pope, after the battle of Arques, applied theſe words to Henry IV. Super aſpidem & baſiliſcum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem, & draconem: meaning by the aſp the duke of Maïenne, the duke of Savoy by the baſiliſk, the king of Spain by the lion, and himſelf by the dragon.

† Theſe towns are upon the Siene.

‡ Henry of Bourbon-Montpenſier, prince of the blood, the only ſon of Francis and Renée of Anjou, at that time ſeven and twenty years old. Henry III. took the government of Bretagne from him, without any cauſe, to beſtow it on the duke of Mercœur. He ſoon had reaſon to repent of it.

Mont-

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1589. Montpenſier went back to Normandy, and I joined the king at Villepreux.

His deſign was to alarm Paris, and even to attack it; and as he ſaw opportunity, to attempt to make himſelf maſter of it. He had taken the precaution to ſend perſons to break the bridge of St. Maixance *, by which the duke of Maïenne might have been able to aſſiſt this great city; for that general, alarmed by the king's march, had alſo come near Paris by the oppoſite ſide, that he might not meet the king. Henry, therefore, gave the neceſſary orders for attacking all the ſuburbs at the ſame time: that of St. Germain fell to Monſieur D'Aumont, de Chatillon, and me. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, we fell upon this ſuburb; and having, tho' an immenſe, yet a confuſed and terrified multitude to oppoſe, we hemmed two large bodies of ſoldiers within the enclo-ſure of the market of St. Germain; and there, in a leſs ſpace than two hundred paces, we left four hundred of them in a moment dead upon the place. I could hardly prevail upon myſelf to kill men already more than half dead with fear; but putting them out of a condition to reſiſt us, we paſſed, and advanced as far as the gate of Neſle: fifteen or twenty of us entered the city; but perceiving that our men did not follow us, we turned back: an order from the king to give over the attack was the cauſe of their abandoning us. The perſon whom he had ſent to demoliſh the bridge † of St. Maixance had performed this commiſſion ſo ill, that the duke of Maïenne appeared within ſight of

* Upon the river Oiſe.

† De Thou obſerves, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorency, lord of Thoré; but being indiſpoſed at Senlis, he could not defend it. Book xcvii. It was attacked on All-ſaints day, upon advice ſent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine gentleman, to Henry IV. in theſe three words, Come, come, come, written in a bit of paper, which the bearer incloſed in a quill, and held in his mouth. They did not carry it for want of cannon to beat down the gates. Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 17. Cayet, vol. I. p. 270.

Paris

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Paris with his whole army, at the ſame moment that we entered it. 1589.

The king was now convinced that his enterprize was no longer practicable, and that although we ſhould make ourſelves maſter of the city, which on our ſide would infallibly have happened, an army thus diſperſed in a city of ſuch vaſt extent as Paris, would have been in danger of being overpowered; having ſuch an infinite number of people to oppoſe within, and an army without to fight againſt, which would either enter with us, or keep us beſieged there. It was thus that this prince, tempering ſo happily courage with prudence, never ſuffered his ardour in battle to hinder him from following the calmer dictates of wiſdom. He was ſatisfied with throwing terror into the very heart of that city that dared to deſpiſe him, and giving it to know what it had to expect from him. Part of the ſuburbs was pillaged: our ſoldiers left nothing in that of Germain *, that they could conveniently carry away. I had for my ſhare three thouſand crowns, and all my men made very conſiderable booty.

Two days after, the king went to Eſtampes †; and reſuming his firſt deſign of ſhewing himſelf in the heart of the kingdom, went towards Tours, and in a ſhort time took a great many little towns in Touraine ‡, Anjou, Maine, and Lower Nor-

* "The Sieurs de Châtillon, "and La Noue," ſays Le Grain, book v. "aſſaulted the ſuburbs of "St. Germain, Buſſy and Neſle, "which were richer and more "magnificent than the others, and "where they expected to find "moſt reſiſtance, as well upon "account of the fine houſes that "were in the ſuburb St. Germain, "which makes its value equal to "the ſecond city in France, as the "abbey St. Germain, which was "fortified. Châtillon made it ap-"pear that he remembered St. "Bartholomew's day, and was "reſolved to expiate the murder, "and appeaſe the manes of the "admiral his father."

† In Beauce.

‡ Alencon, Le Mans, Chateau Briant, Sablé, Château-Gontier, Maïenne, Laval, Argentan, Falaiſe, Liſieux, Baïeux, Ponteau de Mer, Pont l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grace, Donfront, &c. De Thou, book xcvii. D'Aubigné, Vol. III. book iii. chap. 4, &c. See alſo the Memoirs of the league, and particular accounts of theſe expeditions printed at that time.

mandy.

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1590. mandy. He left ſome troops with the marechal Biron, who took Evreux, without cannon. I drove the catholics from Antfreville. The king gave me all the countries about Mante and Roſny to preſerve, with a ſmall body of troops, with which I narrowly miſſed ſeizing the duke D'Aumale, as he paſſed by Roſny. Afterwards I joined the marechal Biron, at the ſiege of Evreux. I cannot give a more circumſtantial account than this of actions of little importance, and muſt even ſuppreſs the greateſt part of them, as it is neither poſſible, nor neceſſary, to relate at length facts in themſelves ſo inconſiderable.

I forewarn the public therefore to expect in theſe memoirs a detail only of important events; ſuch as I have been a witneſs to, or what regards the king himſelf; and if I ſhould add any others, they will be thoſe, the truth of which I can warrant from the authenticity of thoſe memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for the reſt, it will be ſufficient juſt to point them out, that the reader may from thence form an idea of the condition, and affairs of Henry the Great, in different periods of time. It was to relieve my memory, that I at firſt committed ſuch particulars as moſt ſtruck me, to paper; eſpecially thoſe converſations I had with the king, or he with others, either upon war, or politics, which I apprehend might be of great uſe to me. This prince, who perceived it by my ſometimes repeating exactly what had fallen from him on theſe ſubjects, commanded me to put my work in ſome order, and to enlarge it. I found ſome difficulty in obeying him, for my ſtyle was none of the beſt; and I would gladly have been excuſed, but upon repeated commands from his majeſty, and his promiſing to correct it with his own hand, I reſumed and continued this work with more aſſiduity. Such was the riſe of theſe memoirs. But to return to my ſubject,

The

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The army of the league ſitting down before Pontoiſe *, took it, and afterwards laid ſiege to Meulan. As I looked upon this place to be of great importance to the king, I endeavoured by all the methods I could think of, to ſupply it with powder †, and to introduce ſome perſon into it on whom I could depend, to prevail upon the beſieged to hold out till aſſiſtance, which was very near, arrived. And this I performed by making a man ſwim over to it; and in the mean time ſent to inform the king of what had paſſed, and to demand ſupplies. My repeated inſtances determined this prince to come thither himſelf; but it was with great unwillingneſs that he left other places where his preſence was no leſs neceſſary. "Your "importunity brings me to the aſſiſtance of Meu- "lan." Thus he wrote to me. "If any thing "unfortunate ſhould happen, I ſhall never ceaſe "to reproach you." It would indeed have appeared very ſurprizing to me, if no misfortune had happened; for this prince leaving all his infantry before Honfleur, brought with him ſo ſmall a number, that it was impoſſible for him to ſuſtain the attack of a whole army which then preſt Meulan, and would not fail to fall upon him as ſoon as it was known how ill he was attended. 1590.

This I took the liberty to repreſent to him; and, in effect, he had no ſooner left Verneuil ‖ to proceed to Ivry ‡, than going out to reconnoitre, I ſaw the whole army of the league, which was no doubt informed of his march, making directly towards him, which obliged him to turn back to Verneuil. It was not uſual for this prince to give ground before his enemies, nor did he now without great regret. In the firſt tranſports of his rage,

* In the iſle of France.

† The duke of Sully is mentioned with diſtinction, in the relation of this ſiege, by de Thou, book xcviii. and father Matthieu, Vol. II. p. 22.

‖ In Perche.

‡ Upon the river of Eure, Biſhopric of Evreux.

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1590. he reproached me as the cauſe of his ſuffering this affront, and with being leſs ſolicitous for his reputation, by calling him thither, than careful to preſerve my lands from pillage. It was not difficult for me to juſtify myſelf; and this prince, who comprehended the importance of ſuch a place as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join him.

This produced the effect which I had promiſed myſelf. The enemies ſeeing the army on its march, drew their cannon on this ſide the river, and without wholly raiſing the ſiege, abandoned the care of it, to guard againſt ſurprizes.

I ſent the king advice of this proceeding, and he thought it neceſſary to haſten his march, to prevent any accident which might occaſion the loſs of Meulan, and ſent me the ſcouts of his army, that while I waited for his arrival, I might be able to give the beſiegers ſome trouble. He came ſoon after, and entered the fort, where being deſirous of obſerving the enemy's army *, he climbed up, with ſome of us, into the belfrey. The beſiegers that moment directing a battery againſt this belfrey, demoliſhed the ſtaircaſe, and obliged the king, and all of us that were with him, to come down with the help of a cord, and a ſtick paſſed between our legs. The king, to pay them in the ſame coin, ordered four pieces of cannon to be raiſed in this place: which was contrary to my opinion; for I foreſaw that the enemies would quickly diſmount them, which really happened before we could derive the leaſt diſadvantage from them, and the beſiegers fired there ſo furiouſly all day, that we were not able to remove theſe four pieces till night. The enemies, who took care to have the river between them and the king, made a terrible attack on the bridge on that ſide; but this was their laſt effort. The king poſting himſelf at Or-

* "As Henry IV. was aſcending the belfrey of St. Nicaiſe, a cannon-ball paſſed thro' his legs." Matthieu, ibid. 24.

greux,

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greux, they were afraid of being overcome, and suddenly decamped. 1590.

The marquis of Alegre * had better ſucceſs, and ſeized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Roſny. The king, whoſe whole attention it had been to hinder the reduction of this place, marched inſtantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gaillon he learnt that the misfortune was without remedy. In revenge he went to beſiege Dreux †, after putting me in garriſon in Paſſy. The duke of Maïenne, who had juſt been reinforced with the whole Spaniſh army, paſſed the river, and ſpread his troops all round Mante and Roſny, with a reſolution to raiſe this ſiege. The vanguard of this army, which was conducted by one of my relations, named Roſny, had orders from the general to poſſeſs himſelf of Paſſy in his way. I gave the king notice of his approach, who replied only, that I might do as I pleaſed. I reſolved, therefore, to defend myſelf; and although monſieur de Roſny wrote to me, repreſenting to me, that it would be raſhneſs to ſuffer myſelf to be ſtormed in a place that had not even walls, and offered me very advantageous conditions ‡ yet he could gain nothing upon me.

I thanked him for his falſe complaiſance, and, in the night, cauſed a ditch to be dug, which might in ſome degree ſerve the garriſon for a ſhelter. Luckily the enemy had no deſign to waſte time in ſo inconſiderable a ſiege, and wanted only

* Chriſtopher D'Allegre, governor of Giſors.

† In the biſhopric of Evreux.

‡ Father Matthieu mentions this fact, exactly in the ſame manner as it is here; he even relates the duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made uſe of. "Here is "the king ready to give battle; "tell the duke of Maïenne, that "he is now reckoning upon win- "ning it; and then I will conſi- "der whether I am to loſe it."

The only difference between them is, that this officer of the enemy's, who is here called Roſny, was, according to Matthieu, the baron de Roſne, one of the general-officers of the League: However, to thoſe who read the Memoirs of Sully, it would ſeem impoſſible for the error to be on his ſide. Compare the two writers, *Oeconomies Royales*, &c. Vol. I. p. 71. and Matthieu's hiſtory, Vol. II. book i. p. 25.

to

1590. to seize the place. As they passed next morning, the noise of the baggage gave me to understand, that the army had pursued its rout, which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I spent entirely in fortifying Passy, I thought I saw distinctly two armies fighting in the air *. I know not whether this object was real, or only an illusion, but it made such an impression on my mind, that I was not surprized at reading a letter next day from the king, wherein he informed me that the duke of Maïenne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a design to offer him battle; that he had waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote to me, but that the whole day had been passed in skirmishing, making lodgments, and securing advantages, and that the general action was put off till the next. His letter concluded with these words, "I conjure you "then to come, and bring with you as many of "the forces as you can, particularly your own "company, and the two companies of Badit and "James's horse-arquebusiers; for I know them, "and am resolved to make use of them upon this "occasion."

I was sensible that, without extraordinary dispatch, I should arrive too late for the battle with these companies, which I foresaw the king would be in great need of, as he was much inferior in numbers to the enemy. I therefore lost not a moment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and half before the battle began. The king ordered

* Davila, who also takes notice of this phenomenon, book xi. describes it in this manner: "The "thunder and lightning, sometimes mingled with horrid darkness, added to their terrors; and "such a flood of rain poured suddenly down, that the whole army was alarmed. A prodigious "apparition, which appeared in "the sky as soon as it had ceased "to rain, encreased the general "dismay; for during the noise of "the thunder, at which the boldest amongst them trembled, two "great armies were distinctly seen "in the air, that after continuing "some time engaged in fight, disappeared, covered with a thick "cloud; so that the event of the "battle was not seen."

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me to make my company pass to the right wing, where his own squadron was, to which he joined it; and making the two companies of arquebusiers dismount, sent their horses amongst the baggage, designing to make use of them as the forlorn hope. After this, he bid me follow him to view the disposition of the two armies, "in order, added he, "that you may learn your trade." He had no sooner placed himself at the head of his squadron *, than the trumpets sounded the charge. 1590.

I shall not here encroach upon the historian's right; I leave it to them to relate all the particulars of this battle, and shall confine myself only to what I was an eye-witness of. It is sufficient to say that, upon this occasion, what gave the victory to the weaker party, was the valour of the marechal D'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horse; as also the great difference between the enemy's manner of using their artillery, and ours; and above all, the uncommon abilities of the king, which were never so perfectly known as in the day of battle, in the disposition of his troops, rallying them, their discipline, and their exact and ready obedience.

It is certain the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Egmont, who were at the head of the Spaniards, imagined that if the king ventured to wait for them, the victory would be theirs; and that, if he

* "My companions," said he, addressing himself to his squadron, "if to-day you run my "fortune, I also run yours. I "am resolved to die, or conquer "with you; keep your ranks, I "beseech you, and if I should quit "them in the heat of the battle, "rally immediately; which will "be gaining the victory: you will "do it between those three trees "which you see up there on the "right: and, if you should lose "sight of your standards and colours, keep my white plume of "feathers always in view; there "you will find the road to victory "and glory." Perefix, ibid. 2d part. "They lost sight of him "in the battle, where, accompanied only by twelve or thirteen "persons, he was surrounded by "the enemy. He killed the count "of Egmont's equery with his "own hand. We must use our "pistols, said he to his troop; "the more men the more glory." Matthieu, Vol. II. book i. p. 26, &c.

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1590. yielded, or gave ground before them, as they expected, they depended upon nothing less than forcing him out of whatever place he should retreat to; and thus finish the war by a single blow. With such dispositions, what must be the consequence? I say nothing of the generals, who alone are worth many thousand men. The stronger party never makes use of those precautions that are necessary against an enemy of equal strength; and the weaker never forms a resolution to defend itself against a more numerous army, without determining likewise to supply by valour and address, the deficiency of numbers. Danger, which inspires a courage animated by glory and difficulties, reduces both sides to a kind of equality.

The king's squadron *, where I was, had the attacks of the count of Egmont to sustain, who fell upon us with his own squadron, and another of a thousand, or twelve hundred German horse. It is true, the Germans, who profest the same religion as our soldiers did, fired their pieces in the air: but the count of Egmont behaved like a man who

* See upon this action De Thou, book xcviii. D'Aubigné, Vol. III. book iii. chap. 3. Le Grain, book v. The Memoirs of the league. Father Matthieu, idem. The Chron. Nevenn. of Cayet, vol. II. fol. 327. and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet observe, that Henry the IVth's artillery had fired nine times before the duke of Maïenne's began; they also blame the duke for having disposed his army in the form of a crescent, like Henry's, when, being superior in number, he ought to have given it the form of a triangle. According to Matthieu, Henry IV. was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horse commanded by Du Terrail, and upon the duke of Maïenne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there; and, if we believe Le Grain, twelve hundred horse defeated an army of twenty thousand men. But here is a little exaggeration. The king's army was composed of about two thousand cavalry, and six or seven thousand infantry; and the league's consisted of five thousand horse, and eight thousand foot. The count of Egmont, who had boasted that his squadron alone was sufficient to subdue the royal army, was slain in the fight. He was the son of L'Amoral d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Brussels with the count of Horne. It is said, that when he came to Paris, the person who complimented him, mixed in his discourse some praises of L'Amoral his father: "Do not "mention him," he replied; "he "was a rebel, and deserved to die."

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was reſolved to conquer. He charged us with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding the deſertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and an encounter which laſted a full quarter of an hour, the earth was covered with dead bodies. Our ſquadron fled on the left, and on the right they were broke and gave ground. At the firſt onſet, my horſe was wounded in the noſtrils, and in the neck at a ſecond, where the ſaddle did not reach, and a third quite overpowered him, and carried away two of his feet, and a piece of fleſh off the calf of my leg. I received another wound in my hand. A piſtol ſhot gave me a third more conſiderable; the ball entered my hip, and came out near my belly. I ſhould certainly have been killed, if my equery had not flown to my aſſiſtance with another horſe, upon which I mounted, though with great difficulty. This inſtance of affection drew a great many wounds upon poor Maignan, and had like to have coſt him his life. 1590.

At a ſecond charge, this horſe was likewiſe ſlain, and in the ſame moment I received a piſtol-ſhot in the thigh, and a cut with a ſword on the head. I fell to the earth, and with my ſenſes loſt all the remaining part of the action, which from the advantage the count of Egmont had already gained, boded no good to us. All I know is, that a long time after, recovering my ſenſes, I ſaw neither enemies, nor any of my domeſtics near me, whom terror, and the diſorder, had diſperſed; another preſage which appeared to me no leſs unfavourable.

I retired without a head-piece, and almoſt without armour, for in the battle mine had been batterred to pieces. In this condition I ſaw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention to take away my life. By good fortune I found myſelf near a pear-tree, to which I crept, and with that little motion I was ſtill able to exert, made ſuch good uſe of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adver-

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1590. sary's attempts, and kept him at a distance, who being weary with turning round the tree, at last quitted me. Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; he was killed that moment before my eyes. Just then La Rocheforêt (who has since been with me) passing by, I asked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the spot thirty crowns. It was always my opinion, that on such occasions it is proper to carry a little money about one.

Thus mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, when I saw seven of the enemy approach, one of whom carried the white standard belonging to the duke of Maïenne's company. I thought it impossible to escape this new danger, and upon their crying, "*Qui vive?*" I told my name, as being ready to surrender myself a prisoner. But how was I astonished, when instead of attacking me, I found four of these persons intreating me to receive them for prisoners, and to save their lives; and while they ranged themselves about me, appear rejoiced at this meeting! I granted their request; and it seemed so surprizing to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, should surrender themselves to a single man, disarmed, covered with his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and scarce able to support himself, that I was tempted to take all I saw for an illusion. But I was soon convinced of the truth of it. My prisoners (since they would be so) made themselves known for monsieurs de Châtaigneraie *, de Sigogne, de Chanteloup, and d'Aufreville. They told me, that the duke of Maïenne had lost the

* John de Vivonne, lord of Châtaigneraie. Charles de Beaufoncle, lord of Sigogne, cornet of the duke of Maïenne's company. The historians take notice of the prisoners monsieur de Rosny took in this encounter, and the wounds he received to the number of seven. It was for some time believed, that Henry IV. was slain. What gave rise to this false report was the marquis of Nesle, who was that day dress like the king, being seen surrounded by the enemy, and wounded in several places, of which he died. Matthieu, ib.

battle;

battle; that the king was that inſtant in purſuit of the vanquiſhed, which had obliged them to ſurrender for fear of falling into worſe hands, their horſes not being in a condition to carry them out of danger; at the ſame time Sigogne, in token of ſurrender, preſented me with the white ſtandard. The three others, who were the duke of Nemours *, the chevalier D'Aumale, and Tremont, not ſeeming inclined to ſurrender, I endeavoured to perſuade them to do ſo, but in vain. After recommending their companions to me, ſeeing a body of the victors advance, they rode away, and ſhewed me that their horſes were ſtill vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies. 1590.

I advanced with my priſoners towards a battalion of Swiſs, and meeting one of the king's chief pages, I gave him the ſtandard to carry, it being too weighty a burthen for me. I then ſaw more plainly the marks of our victory. The field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army † of the king purſuing, and ſcattering the reſt of the larger bodies, had diſperſed, and were again drawing together. The Swiſs ſoldiers of the two armies, meeting, bullied each other with their pikes lowered, without ſtriking a blow or making any other motion.

The white ſtandard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be

* Charles of Savoy duke of Nemours.

† "The king cried, Spare the "French, and fall upon the fo- "reigners." Perefix, ibid. part 2d. "Henry," ſays the author of the Henriade, "owed this vic- "tory to the ſuperiority of his "ſkill and valour. But he con- "feſſed that Maïenne had per- "formed all the duties of a great "general; he had no fault," ſaid he, "but in the cauſe he ſup- "ported." The duke of Maïenne would have been taken, but for his precaution in breaking the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he expoſed the German horſe and foot to be ſlaughtered there, twelve hundred of which were killed upon the ſpot; a like number of French infantry, and a thouſand horſe. Some have made the loſs much greater. Of the royaliſts, five hundred private men, and about twenty gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the villages of St. André and Foucrainville.

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1590. that of the Guiſes, which they bore in memory, and through horror, of the aſſaſſination of Blois, and drew great numbers to it, as to a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my priſoners, which were covered with ſilver croſſes, glittered from afar in the field. The firſt who flew to ſeize them, were Meſſieurs De Cambrai, De L'Archant, Du Rollet, De Crevecœur, De Palcheux, and De Braſſeuſe, who were joined by the count de Torigny. I advanced towards them, and ſuppoſing they would not know my face, disfigured by blood and duſt, I named myſelf. The count de Torigny no ſooner knew La Châtaigneraie: who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he ſaw me, I ſhould not be able to preſerve my priſoners from inſult, he intreated me to give Châtaigneraie to his care, for whom he would be anſwerable. I readily granted his requeſt, yet it was with regret that I ſaw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendſhip had a fatal conſequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie: ſome moments after he was known by three men belonging to D'O's company, who had been guard to Henry III. theſe men levelling their pieces at him, ſhot him dead, crying, "'Sdeath! thou traitor to thy king, whom thou "haſt murdered, and triumphed in the deed."

I might have made the count of Torigny pay this priſoner's ranſom, and I was adviſed by ſeveral perſons to do ſo; but I could not reſolve to add this new cauſe of affliction to what he already felt for the death of a man, with whom I had myſelf been well acquainted.

I ſoon ſaw myſelf ſurrounded by many perſons, amongſt whom there was not one that did not envy my good fortune. D'Andelot * came after the reſt, and paſſing through the croud, perceived Si-

* Charles de Coligny, marquis d'Andelot, one of the admiral de Coligny's ſons.

gogne,

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gogne, and the page who carried the ſtandard. He was preparing to ſeize it, believing his good fortune had preſerved this prize for him, when a report that the enemies had rallied, obliged him to go away abruptly. I had not time to draw him out of his error; for after he had bid the page keep that ſtandard for him, he ſuddenly diſappeared. The news was found to be falſe, and had no other foundation than the arrival of two hundred ſoldiers from Picardy, which meſſieurs de Mouy *, and de la Boiſſiere had brought to the duke of Maïenne. 1590.

Being now diſengaged from the croud, and finding myſelf in need of help, eſpecially for the wound in my hip, by which I loſt a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of Vignole's † regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here, fearing no further ſurprize, I aſked for a ſurgeon to bind up my wound, and deſired ſome wine to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My ſtrength being a little renewed, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I cauſed the firſt dreſſing to be put on my wounds in the preſence of the marechal Biron, who ſpent a few moments there after my arrival, and took ſome refreſhment in my chamber. He was conducting the corps de reſerve, which he commanded, to the king, who, without ſtopping after his victory, had paſſed the river of Eure, in purſuit of the enemies; and, as I was told, took the road at laſt to Roſny, where he lay the ſame night ‡.

* Charles D'Humieres. The vol. of manuſcripts in the king's library, marked 8930, is filled with his great actions. Charles, marquis de Mouy, or Moy. Chriſtopher de Lanoy de Boiſſiere, governor of Corbie.

† Bertrand de Vignoles.

‡ "That night he ſupped at "the caſtle of Roſny. Being in-"formed that the marechal D'Au-"mont was come to give him an "account of what he had done, "he roſe up to meet him, and "embracing him affectionately, "made him ſit down at his table, "with theſe obliging words, that "it was but juſt, that he who had

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1590. After the marechal Biron was gone, D'Andelot arrived at Anet, full of reſentment againſt me for taking away his prize; for ſo he thought it. He entered my chamber, attended by five or ſix armed men, and with an air equally fierce and inſulting, demanded an explanation, or rather ſought to do himſelf juſtice; for perceiving the white ſtandard, which, with that belonging to my company, had been placed at the head of my bed, he would have taken poſſeſſion of it by force, without attending to what I ſaid. I changed my tone immediately, and high words paſſed between us. In the condition wherein I was, I could do no more. But he ſpeaking with fury, and making uſe of threats, the noiſe drew fifteen or twenty of my troopers into the chamber, at the ſight of whom D'Andelot reſtraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refuſed, and endeavoured, but in vain, to make him comprehend the injuſtice of his pretenſions.

The next morning I cauſed myſelf to be carried by water to Paſſy, with an intention to go to

" ſerved him ſo well at his nupti-
" als, ſhould ſhare the feaſt." Pereſix, ibid. 2d part.

Monſieur de Pereſix, in the ſame place, relates another circumſtance, which does honour to the king. " He remembered that, the even-
" ing before the battle, he had uſed
" ſome harſh expreſſions to colonel
" Theodoric Schomberg, who had
" aſked him for money, and told
" him in a paſſion, that it was not
" acting like a man of honour to de-
" mand money, when he came to
" take orders for fighting. He af-
" terwards went to him, when he
" was ranging his troops in order,
" and ſaid, Colonel, we are now
" upon the point; perhaps I ſhall
" never go from this place; it is
" not juſt that I ſhould deprive a
" brave gentleman as you are of
" your honour; I come therefore
" to declare, that I know you to
" be an honeſt man, and incapable
" of committing a baſe action.
" Saying this, he embraced him
" with great affection. The co-
" lonel, ſenſibly moved with this
" behaviour, replied, with tears
" in his eyes, Ah! Sire, in re-
" ſtoring to me my honour, you
" take away my life; for after
" this I ſhould be unworthy of
" your favour, if I did not ſacri-
" fice it to-day for your ſervice. If
" I had a thouſand lives, I would
" lay them all at your feet. In
" fact, he was killed upon this oc-
" caſion." Ibid.

The marechal Biron, who at the head of the corps de reſerve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, ſaid to Henry IV. " Sire,
" you have performed what Biron
" ſhould, and Biron has done that
" which the king ought to have
" done."

Roſny,

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Roſny, to finiſh my cure. On my arrival, I learned that part of the ſoldiers in my train, and my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a report which was ſpread, that the king had loſt the battle. Being apprehenſive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themſelves concealed. I cauſed them to be ſought for, but they were ſo much aſhamed of their cowardice, that the following night they fled away on foot; nor have I ſince been ever able to get any intelligence of them. They left all my baggage behind them, with four of their own horſes, which I ordered to be ſold, and diſtributed the money amongſt their wounded companions. 1590.

As I was not in a condition to mount a horſe, I ordered a kind of litter, compoſed of the branches of trees, with the bark ſtill on, and the hoops of ſome veſſels, to be made for me in haſte, and travelled by Beurons, to avoid the aſcents and declivities of Rougevoie, and Chatillon.

Maignan, who was a youth of a lively imagination, thought proper to give this march the air of a little triumph. Two of the grooms of my ſtable were at the head of this train, each leading one of my fineſt horſes; they were followed by my pages, one of whom rode on my horſe, the ſame who having received three wounds in the battle, and being thrown to the ground by a fourth, got up again without a ſaddle, and running about the field, was fortunately known by three of my arquebuſiers. This page carried my cuiraſs, and the duke of Maïenne's ſtandard, the the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, ſo bruiſed, that it was no longer of any uſe. My equery, the contriver of this diverting ſcene, marched next, with his head bound up, and his arm in a ſcarf; he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, dreſt in my coat of orange-coloured velvet, with thin plates of ſilver, and mounted

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1590. mounted upon my Engliſh nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy, a bundle of the ſhivers of my piſtols, the broken pieces of my ſwords, and the tattered remains of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet coats of my priſoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their piſtols and ſwords at the four corners. The priſoners themſelves followed my litter, and preceded the reſt of my domeſtics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of ſoldiers, and the march was cloſed with James and Badet's two companies of arquebuſiers. They had ſuffered ſo much in the battle, that there was not one of them who had not his head bound up, and his arm in a ſcarf, and ſome of theſe brave ſoldiers were even obliged to be carried by their companions.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horſes and dogs; and the king himſelf, who, after a ſlight repaſt, had returned from Roſny to Mante, and was hunting there in my warren. This ſhew ſeemed to pleaſe him; he thought it very happily diſpoſed, and ſmiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to this prince, ever ſince his father, who was a very brave man, had made himſelf remarkable at the taking of Eauſe. The king approached my litter, and in the ſight of his whole train, diſdained not to give me ſuch proofs of tenderneſs and concern, as (if I may be allowed the expreſſion, one friend would do to another. I could not expreſs my gratitude by throwing myſelf at his feet, but I aſſured him, and with truth, that I would gladly ſuffer a thouſand times more for his ſervice. He enquired, with an obliging ſolicitude, whether all my wounds were of ſuch a nature, that I might hope to be cured without mutilating any part of my body, which he thought almoſt impoſſible, knowing that I had been

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been thrown down ſenſeleſs, and trampled under the horſes feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he caſt himſelf on my neck, and turning to the princes and noblemen who followed him, he ſaid aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honeſt knight, a title which he ſaid, he thought ſuperior to that of a knight-companion of his orders. Being apprehenſive that I ſhould hurt myſelf by ſpeaking too much, he put an end to this agreeable converſation with his uſual proteſtation, that I ſhould ſhare in whatever good fortune heaven ſhould ſend him; and, leaving me, ſaid, "Farewel, my friend; take care "of yourſelf, and, depend upon it, you have a "good maſter." There are princes who are capable of gratitude, but this quality is ſeldom increaſed, or even kept, in ſucceſs. 1590.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK IV.

1590. THE ſame day that the king gained the battle of Ivry, his party alſo prevailed in Auvergne *, where Randan commanded the troops of the league; but fortune, as it ſhould ſeem, when ſhe gave this prince ſucceſs ſufficient to put him in poſſeſſion of ſeveral crowns, took pleaſure, at the ſame time, in producing circumſtances which hindered the effect, and left him no other fruit of his victories than the ſole glory of having conquered. After the battle of Ivry, terror and conſternation ſeized the whole party of the league, ſo that it ſeemed hardly poſſible for the king, who was now reſolved to let ſlip none of his advantages, to have failed of drawing very great ones from the preſent poſture of his affairs. Nor did he expect to have ſeen them raviſhed from him by a general mutiny in his army, particularly of the Swiſs, who refuſed to advance a ſtep farther, till they were paid thoſe ſums the king owed them.

This prince had then neither money nor means in readineſs to recover any. He came to Mante, to demand ſome of the ſuperintendant of the finan-

* At Iſſoire. See an account of it in Cayet, ibid. 329. De Thou, &c. John Lewis, de La Rochefoucaut, count of Randan.

ces.

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ces. This man, who ſecretly hated the king, and beheld his ſucceſs with grief, took pleaſure in adding to his perplexities, and had but one anſwer to make to all his ſolicitations. In this time of confuſion, when the royal treaſure became a prey to the firſt poſſeſſor, the finances were very difficult to manage, and the king's revenues ſcarce ſufficient to ſatisfy the avarice of the receivers, which generally increaſed with public miſery. Henry wanted that abſolute authority, which alone was able to check them, and ſtill more the means of convicting them of any miſdemeanor; for he had not the ſlighteſt knowledge of the affairs of the finances. Notwithſtanding this, he entered into a detail which became neceſſary for him, and obliged * D'O to deliver up certain ſums, which it was not difficult to ſee had paſſed through his hands. Theſe ſums he made uſe of to pacify his ſoldiers; but this affair took up at leaſt five days, during which the king could not leave Mante, and conſequently derive no advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this prince declare, that he now, for the firſt time in his whole life, ſaw himſelf in a ſituation to convert his deſires into deſigns: "for "I have often had deſires, ſaid he, but never "found a fit opportunity to form deſigns." He gave the ſame ſignification to this laſt term that all wiſe men do; a ſcheme, the ſucceſs of which is ſecured by reflection and prudence: and it is in this ſenſe which every one wiſhes to take what ſeems right in his own opinion, without prejudice to any other perſon; but it is fools only who raſhly engage in deſigns, without any appearance of ſucceeding in them. 1590.

During his ſtay at Mante, D'Andelot went to him to complain of me, and this prince gave him-

* Francis D'O, lord D'O, de Maillebois, and de Freſne, maſter of the wardrobe to Henry III. firſt gentleman of the chamber, ſuperintendant of the finances, governor of Paris, and iſle of France. He will be mentioned hereafter.

ſelf

1590. ſelf the trouble to come to Roſny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally condemned, and the raillery his ridiculous claim drew upon him from the principal officers, made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the ſame juſtice was done me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almoſt the only conſequence of the battle of Ivry. The king, of whom I requeſted this poſt, beſtowed it on a catholic *, at which I made loud complaints. I confeſs, to my confuſion, that if I had ſeriouſly conſidered the ſituation the king was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and thoſe catholics that were in his ſervice, ready to ſeize the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſguſt for a pretence to quit him, I ſhould not have murmured, that he granted to a catholic, who had but little affection to his perſon, what he refuſed to a faithful ſervant. There was more greatneſs of mind in being ſatisfied with the friendſhip of this prince, independent of its effects, than in receiving favours, which were determined by policy, and the neceſſity of the time.

All obſtacles being removed, the king advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected to have ſurrendered through the correſpondence he held within the city; but this failed, and Henry, unwilling to come ſo far in vain, and being beſides informed that the place was deſtitute of ammunition, he undertook the ſiege of it. It was not long before he found himſelf, through the malice of his ſecret enemies, in a general want of all things neceſſary to finiſh this enterprize, and was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the ſhame, he gave out, that he raiſed this ſiege, in order to go and inveſt Paris itſelf, and he took his rout thither by Corbeil,

* This government was given to Monſieur de Roſny's youngeſt brother.

Meulan

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Meulan, Lagny, and St. Denis †, which he ſeized in his way. 1590.

I was not at any of theſe ſieges; and my wounds were not yet half cured, when I learnt that the king had inveſted Paris; and not able to reſiſt the deſire I had to be preſent at this expedition, I ſet out, with my arm however in a ſcarf, and ſupported by two crutches. The king, forgetting all my complaints, received me with his uſual goodneſs, and commanded me to ſtay near his perſon. He communicated to me the deſign he had formed upon Paris, which he was reſolved at the ſame time to carry into execution over all the ſuburbs; in order to deprive the city of the ſubſiſtence it drew from them, ſuch as fruit, vegetables, &c. He divided his army into ten little bodies, to equal the number of the ſuburbs he deſigned to ſtorm; and having made choice of the night for the execution of his ſcheme, he withdrew to the mountain of Montmarte, that he might ſend ſupplies wherever there was occaſion for them. He placed himſelf in an abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could have no ſhare in the glory of that night, but by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and pen. He made me ſtay with him at a window, from whence he viewed the action; during which, he converſed with Du-Pleſſis, Ruſé, de Freſne, Alibour *, and I.

The attack began at midnight, with a frightful noiſe of the artillery, which was anſwered by that of the city. There was not one perſon, who did not think that this immenſe city would be deſtroyed, either by the fire of the artillery, or the mines kindled in its bowels: never was there a ſpectacle more capable of inſpiring horror. Thick clouds of ſmoke, through which darted by intervals ſparks of fire, or long trains of flames, co-

† Cities of the iſle of France.

* Du-Pleſſis Mornay, Martin Ruſé, lord of Beaulieu, and Peter Forget, lord of Freſne, his majeſty's ſecretaries. Alibour his phyſician.

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1590. vered all that ſpace of earth, which, by the viciſſitude of light and darkneſs, ſeemed now plunged in thick ſhades of night, and now ſwallowed up in a ſea of fire. The thunder of the artillery, the claſhing of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined terrible, which was ſtill increaſed by the natural horror of night. This ſcene continued two whole hours, and was cloſed with the reduction of all the ſuburbs, not excepting that of St. Antoine; although by its great extent we were obliged to begin the attack at a conſiderable diſtance. They blocked up the city-gates, ſo that nothing could enter without the permiſſion of thoſe who guarded them; and the people immediately ſaw themſelves reduced to an exceſs of miſery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I muſt be permitted to paſs ſlightly over this part; I cannot, with any pleaſure, enlarge upon ſo dreadful a ſubject. The king, naturally compaſſionate, was moved with the diſtreſs of the Pariſians: he could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing this city, the empire of which was deſtined for him by Providence, become one vaſt church-yard. He ſecretly permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and affected not to obſerve the ſupplies of proviſions which the officers and ſoldiers ſuffered to enter the city, either out of compaſſion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a deſign to make the citizens purchaſe them at a high price. Without doubt, he imagined this conduct would gain him the hearts of the Pariſians; but he was deceived, they enjoyed his benefits without ceaſing to look upon him as the author of their miſeries, and, elated with the prince of Parma's arrival, they inſulted him, who only raiſed the ſiege becauſe he was too much affected with the miſeries of the beſieged *.

* Perefix, Cayet, and many others are alſo of opinion, that the king was witheld from taking Paris by ſtorm, and from yielding to the

To

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To juſtify an action, in itſelf as much blamed by the maſters in the art of war, as praiſed for its motive by hearts truly benevolent, the king cauſed it to be reported, that his deſign in raiſing the ſiege of Paris was to go and meet the prince of Parma *, 1590.

repeated intreaties of his ſoldiers, particularly the huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occaſion they were reſolved to revenge the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the ſword. "The duke of "Nemours, ſays Perefix, ſent all "uſeleſs mouths out of Paris: "the king's council oppoſed his "granting them paſſage; but the "king, being informed of the "dreadful ſcarcity to which theſe "miſerable wretches were reduced, "ordered that they ſhould be allowed to paſs. I am not ſurpriſed, ſaid he, that the Spaniards, and the chiefs of the "league, have no compaſſion upon "theſe poor people, they are only "tyrants; as for me, I am their "father and their king, and cannot hear the recital of their calamities, without being pierced "to my inmoſt ſoul, and ardently "deſiring to bring them relief." Perefix, part 2d. The cardinal de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, having been ſent, during this ſiege, to make Henry propoſitions for peace: "I will not diſſemble, ſaid he, "but diſcover my ſentiments to "you freely. I am willing to "grant you peace, I deſire it myſelf; I would give one finger to "have a battle, and two to have "a general peace. I love my "city of Paris, I am jealous of "her, I am deſirous of doing her "ſervice, and would grant her "more favours than ſhe demands "of me; but I would grant them "voluntarily, and not be compelled to it by the king of Spain "or the duke of Maïenne." It may be added, that Henry IV. expected the Pariſians would capitulate before the prince of Parma's arrival. The extremity to which this city was reduced, raiſed at once compaſſion and horror: in the ſpace of a month, 30,000 perſons died of hunger: mothers fed upon the fleſh of their children: by the Spaniſh ambaſſador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made uſe of their bones pounded, to compoſe a kind of paſte. This deteſtable food coſt the greateſt part of thoſe that eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the hiſtorians, particularly in the ſecond volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, p. 358, &c. Read alſo the fine verſes of the Henriade upon this ſubject, Canto the tenth. The Pariſians owed their ſafety chiefly to the duke of Nemours; whoſe gallant defence has been lightly praiſed by our writers. The people ſeconded him with an obſtinate eagerneſs, which had more of fury than true courage in it. A regiment of prieſts and monks were ſeen there, Capuchins, Folietanis, Carthuſians, &c. groteſquely armed above their frocks. This aukward regiment being eager to ſalute the legate, killed his ſecretary at his ſide. The monks of St. Genevieve, St. Victor, the Benedictins, the Celeſtins, and ſome orders, would have no part in this military maſquerade. Cayet's Ch. Novenn. ib. 360.

* Alexander Farneſe, duke of Parma and Placentia, ſon to Octavio Farneſe, and Margaret of Auſtria, natural daughter to Charles V. He married Mary of Portugal, by whom he had Ranucio Farneſe, duke of Parma, and Odoard Farneſe, cardinal.

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1590. and by a decisive action put an end to a war already too long. He made use of all the precautions necessary to secure a safe retreat from a city so populous as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themselves in readiness for a general signal; to the end that, all the suburbs being evacuated in a moment, no person might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wisdom and address, and was happily effected on the first or second of September in the same year; after which the whole army arrived at the common rendezvous, without meeting with any accident.

The king * knowing that the prince of Parma was in the neighbourhood of Meaux, came and posted himself between this city and Paris, and made his light horse advance as far as Claye †; where the two camps being so contiguous, several smart encounters ensued. The king, upon the marechal Biron's representations, preferred to this post that of Chelles ‡, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; for he looked upon Claye to be a more advantageous post, and at the same time fitter to shut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had still views upon the city, and carried on a correspondence within it, which if the prince of Parma had entered, would have failed him, and which it did notwithstanding. The king then took possession of a rising-ground, which on one side presented nothing to view but a deep valley and a morass, that took away all possibility of acting in that place. The prince of Parma perceiving this, encamped on a hill opposite to ours. It was neither his design nor his interest to hazard a battle, but to give us a check; his camp an-

* De Thou says, that Henry IV. was obliged to pretend, that he only raised the siege of Paris in order to go and meet the prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his soldiers, whom the hopes of the plunder of Paris had only prevailed upon to stay with him, should abandon him. Book xcix.

† A town between Paris and Meaux.

‡ A town between Paris and Meaux.

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swered this purpose exactly, as he was there sheltered from any attack, and out of the reach of the cannon. The king became sensible of the error, which too much complaisance for the opinion of another had drawn him into; when, after remaining two or three days in this position, he saw Lagny * taken before his eyes, without having it in his power to prevent it †. 1590.

This event, joined to his raising the siege of Paris, mortified him extremely, because he was sensible that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was superior to him in judgment, which this prince considered as a matter of great importance in war. What gave him still more uneasiness was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to spread, these disadvantageous reports, than the catholics of his own army. What reliance could he have on the assistance of persons, by whom the disobedience of his soldiers, and his want of money, were occasioned? and he was convinced that this disposition with regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally increased. Such is the hatred that religion is the foundation of! and in the end, the king had a thousand fatal proofs of it.

He now resolved upon a very prudent measure, and indeed the only one that was left him.

* A city of Brie upon the Marne.

† The duke of Sully is more candid than the greatest part of the historians, who will not confess that Henry IV. committed any fault upon this occasion. They cannot agree amongst themselves, either about the raising the siege of Paris, or all these different encampments. Villeroy in his Memoirs mentions this circumstance in the same manner as Sully does; and attributes to that one fault, of preferring the post of Chelles to Claye, all the honour the prince of Parma gained by obliging the king to raise the siege of Paris, without coming to a battle; the taking of Lagny, &c. vol. I. p. 190. vol. II. p. 466. See likewise upon all these expeditions Matthieu, ibid. 53, &c. and the other historians. The prince of Parma was desirous of seeing Paris, and entered it incognito. "I am informed, said "he to the duke of Maïenne, that "the king of Navarre makes more "use of boots than shoes, and "that to ruin him we must protract the time, and employ delays, rather than force." Cayet's Chron. Novenn. ibid. 390.

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1590. No longer perſiſting in his deſign of taking Paris, which ſo many circumſtances concurred to ruin, he quitted his poſt at Chelles, where he ran great hazards with an army whoſe intereſts claſhed with thoſe of its leader, and ſuddenly abandoning all thoſe quarters, retreated to the river of Oiſe, and fixed at Creil *; where, without ceaſing to harraſs the prince of Parma, he ſuffered him ſlowly to conſume of himſelf. During this time, he made no other motions than what ſerved to hinder his army from being enervated by ſloth. He laid ſiege to Clermont †, and continued it by frequent detachments. My company he poſted in the neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartraine, and part of the iſle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his perſon, though I was not in a condition to do him any very great ſervices; the wound in my hip not permitting me to ſit my horſe but with great uneaſineſs, and that in my elbow took away the uſe of one of my hands.

It happened as the king had foreſeen: the prince of Parma boaſted of his advantage in being maſter of the field; and that he might make uſe of it, laid ſiege to Corbeil. The king had provided this place, as well as all the other royaliſt Towns, with whatever was neceſſary to enable them to hold out againſt a long ſiege. The enemy's general, who did not expect this, was aſtoniſhed at the firm reſiſtance of Rigaut, governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time deſpaired of ſubduing; but thinking his honour was engaged in this undertaking, he continued his efforts, and ſucceeded at laſt. It was with this only exploit, however, that the campaign ended; he had bought it too dear to attempt a ſecond at the ſame price; and not being able to effect any thing upon the king's army, any more than his towns, he thought the wiſeſt thing

* A town upon the Oiſe.

† In Beauvaiſis.

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he could do was to return to the Low Countries: 1590.
which he did, to the extreme regret of the league, whom his preſence had greatly relieved.

He judged, like an able general, that the king, who had (if the expreſſion may be allowed) cloſed his eyes upon all the advances he had made, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the ſame eaſe as the reſt. He was not miſtaken; but he acted with ſo much prudence, that he prevented the laſt misfortune which muſt unavoidably have happened to any other. Notwithſtanding all his precautions, the king, by an infinite number of attacks and ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes beat up his quarters, and brought him within an inch of his ruin. The moſt conſiderable of theſe little battles, was at the paſſage over the river of Aîne. It was upon this occaſion, that the baron de Biron * engaged himſelf ſo far amongſt the enemies battalions, that if the king had not run thither in perſon, with as many of us as were about him, and made a powerful effort to bring him off, he would have loſt his life there, or at leaſt his liberty.

I was able to keep my rank with the reſt during this whole march, which was an excellent ſchool for a ſoldier to learn his trade in. It no leſs juſtified the conduct the king had till then obſerved, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aſide only the terms of ignominious and ſhameful, which the courtiers, eager to pleaſe this prince, joined (in my opinion very unjuſtly) to the prince of Parma's retreat, it is certain, that the manner in which the king rendered an army uſeleſs, which had promiſed itſelf the conqueſt of all France, his bravery in attacking a powerful enemy who retreated not through weakneſs, and his dexterity in ſeizing all advantages, gave matter for admiration to perſons conſummate

* Charles de Gontaut, ſon to the marechal.

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1591. in the art of war, and equally ſtruck the eyes of the ignorant *. The king's conduct upon this occaſion, gave his partiſans new courage. Several towns ſubmitted, and ſome catholics came over to his ſide; among others, the duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him, either becauſe he began to be afraid of him, or was diſguſted with the league.

It was not ſuch allies as theſe that I wiſhed the king: I found he dearly bought by his compliances the aſſiſtance of a man, who might have been indeed of ſome uſe to him; but who, in my opinion, only increaſed the number of his ſecret enemies † in the council: for thus I cannot help calling all thoſe intereſted catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to give laws to Henry.

During this prince's ſtay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Giſors ‡, by means of a correſpondence, which a gentleman in my company, named Fourges, carried on with his father, who was in the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have been refuſed me; but it happened in this inſtance as it had done in many others. Meſſieurs De Nevers, D'O, and other catholics, put in practice all thoſe mean artifices,

* "Henry IV. ſays father "Matthieu, when he was in purſuit of the prince of Parma, "ſtole away from Attichy, and "went, for the firſt time, to ſee "the beautiful Gabriella at Cœuvres. He contented himſelf "with eating ſome bread and butter at the gate, that he might "not raiſe any ſuſpicion in her "father. Afterwards mounting "his horſe, he ſaid, he was going "towards the enemy, and that "the fair one ſhould ſoon hear "what he had performed through "his paſſion for her. Vol. II. p. 59.

† By all the letters that paſſed between the duke of Nevers and Henry III. which are at the end of the firſt volume of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears, that the duke of Nevers ſerved this prince effectually againſt the league, but without any kindneſs to the king of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters ſhew, that the ſervices he did Henry IV. were conſiderable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealouſy, and his bad temper.

‡ A city of Vexin.

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which procured them favours that ought only to have been the rewards of merit, and prevailed upon the king to give this poſt to one of their own religion. 1591.

I was too ſincere to diſſemble my thoughts of ſuch injuſtice; I choſe to explain myſelf upon this ſubject at the very time when all theſe gentlemen might hear what I ſaid, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The king, who was a better politician than I was, ſeemed not to be moved with my invectives againſt the catholics, although he ſecretly agreed that I was injured, and only anſwered me coldly, "I perceive you are "heated at preſent; we will talk of this affair an-"other time. I muſt confeſs, added he, after I "retired, that he has ſome reaſon for his com-"plaints; his temper is naturally fiery: however, "he will never be guilty of any thing baſe or "wicked, for he is a good man, and loves ho-"nour." In the firſt emotions of my anger, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to take a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Combrailles, upon my wife's eſtate, taking only ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics with me. I did not expect to be employed in any military duties in this journey; but while I was at Bontin *, the count of Tonnerre † prevailed upon me, to aſſiſt him in an attempt he made upon Joigny ‡. His deſign was to force with a petard a poſtern-gate, which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit, had only two hundred arquebuſiers, which he had got together in haſte. They followed him about two hundred ſteps into the city; but here their leader falling by a ſhot from an arquebuſe, terror ſeized them, and they haſtily retreated towards the poſtern, carrying the wounded

* Upon the confines of Champaigne, and Orleanois.

† Francis Henry, count of Clermont and Tonnerre.

‡ In Champagne, upon the Yonne.

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1591. count along with them. Their danger, or rather their fear redoubling, they had the baſeneſs to leave him upon the pavement, about thirty ſteps from the poſtern; where he would have been cut to pieces by the citizens, if I had not flown to his aſſiſtance, with only twenty men: for notwithſtanding all my endeavours, I could not prevail upon thoſe cowardly ſoldiers to face about. However, I reſcued Tonnerre, who took the road to Gien *, of which he was governor; after which I muſtered up his brave troop, and reſumed my way to Bontin.

The remembrance of the king's former goodneſs to me, and an invincible inclination, drew me back to him. I found him employed in the ſiege of Chartres †; the taking of which was principally owing to the valour and addreſs of Chatillon ‡. I was prevented from being preſent at this ſiege, by an adventure the moſt dangerous I was ever engaged in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions of the authors of it, or even their names, ever come to my knowledge.

Returning from an aſſault which Chatillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and very ingenious ſtructure, the king, who obſerved that my former ardour for his ſervice was not diminiſhed, called me, and com-

* A city of Orleanois upon the Loire.

† "The magiſtrate of this city "made him a very long harangue; "and telling him, that he ac- "knowledged the city was ſub- "ject to the king, by divine and "human right; the king, out of "patience at his prolixity, inter- "rupted him, puſhing forward his "horſe to enter, and ſaid, Ay, and "add alſo by the canons right." Father Chalon's hiſtory of France, vol. III. p. 227. This ſiege was long and bloody. See Matthieu, vol. II. p. 63. Cayet, vol. II. p. 415. and other hiſtorians.

‡ Francis de Coligny, ſon to the admiral, and admiral of Guyenne. He died this year 1591, in his caſtle of Louve, thirty years of age, leaving by Margaret D'Ailly de Péquigny, three ſons. The calviniſt party had a great loſs in him, for it is believed, that if he had lived, he would even have excelled his father. De Thou, book cii. Three ſons of D'Andelot, the admiral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586, their names were Laval, Sailly, and Rieux. They were ſons of Francis de Coligny, and Claude de Breaux, ſole heireſs of the houſe of Laval. Book lxxxv.

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manded me to bring my company before Chartres. 1591.
I was obliged to go and get my men together myſelf, and at the ſame time to provide every thing neceſſary for their maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I ſaw a brigade of twenty horſe in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnoitre. Upon his information that they bore white ſcarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their rout, as if they had not even ſeen us, they ſtruck into the wood; from which, according to the courſe of the road I had taken, I could not expect to ſee them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La-Poterie, and La-Ruë, before the reſt of my troop, which conſiſted only of ſix other gentlemen, and four ſervants, who followed at ſome diſtance ſeparately. Theſe troopers, or robbers, I know not what to call them, knew the road perfectly, and had taken their meaſures ſo well, that they met us at the paſſage out of the foreſt, juſt where our road croſſed theirs. The two firſt took off their hats, when to the word, Qui vive? we anſwered, Vive le roi; but at the ſame time taking advantage of our ſecurity, fired cloſe to our breaſts. I ſaw three of the foremoſt take aim particularly at me. There was no probability that any of us would have eſcaped; but doubtleſs, precipitation, fear, and the terrors of conſcience, cauſed the hands of theſe villains to tremble, ſo that of three ſhots at me, one only reached me, which entering my lip, came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their cloaths. La Ruë was the only perſon who fell.

The reſt of my troop running up at the noiſe, ſurrounded me, crying, "Vive Roſny." We altogether charged our aſſailants, who retired, firing, to a village, covered with hedges, where we loſt ſight of them. They continued only to fire upon us from within the houſes, which covered

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1591. my face with ſmall ſhot. By this circumſtance I concluded, that our adverſaries were of intelligence with the country; and that this village was full of ſoldiers, who only ſought, perhaps, to draw us nearer. After ſeveral times calling to thoſe traitors to turn and accept a defiance, I thought it was the wiſeſt way to leave them, and take ſome care of my wounds; eſpecially that in my neck, which was the moſt conſiderable, and by which I loſt a great deal of blood. I got to Touvery, were, in the houſe of Monſieur d'Auteuil *, I put the firſt dreſſing upon them, and from thence retired to Mante, where I was ſix weeks under the ſurgeons hands. During this ſpace, the king's army not only ſeized Chartres, but Corbie likewiſe. Parabere had the conduct of this ſiege, in the abſence of the king, who was kept at St. Quentin †, by his new paſſion for mademoiſelle D'Eſtrées ‡.

* M. de Combault d'Auteuil.

† It is to this year, and while Henry IV. ſtaid at St. Quentin, that we muſt bring back this prince's Letter to M. de Roſny, which is without date, and may be ſeen amongſt the MSS. of the king's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows: "All the news I have from Mante "are, that you have been fa- "tigued, and are much emaciated: "if you have any deſire to refreſh "yourſelf and grow fat, it is my "opinion, that you ought to come "hither; mean time your brother "will ſend us news from thence "of our ſiege at Chartres," &c.

From ſeveral places in theſe Memoirs, where the ſhare Henry IV. gave to M. de Roſny in all his reſolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his converſion, which we ſhall come to preſently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have tranſcribed the foregoing letter to ſhew by another teſtimony, that this opinion is not ill founded; and that the duke of Sully has not through vanity impoſed upon his readers. The hiſtorians have not mentioned this miniſter till he began to appear publicly at the head of affairs. 'Tis more than probable, that a long time before that, he had been the ſoul of all the actions and councils of Henry the great. 'Tis eaſy to trace this time back to his moſt early youth; tho' indeed all the actions of the duke of Sully compoſe a life, wherein no period of it ſeems to have been that of youth. This advantage muſt be allowed to minds born, as it were, grave and ſerious, over thoſe more lively and full of fire.

‡ She is often mentioned in the courſe of this work. Her name was Gabrielle; ſhe was daughter of John Antony D'Eſtrées, and Frances Babou de la Bourdaiſiere. She bore ſucceſſively the names of the fair Gabrielle, madame de Liancourt, the marchioneſs of Monceaux, and dutcheſs of Beaufort.

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The siege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. 1591.
There is none which I could have more wished to have given a circumstantial relation of than this, if I had been a witness of it. A thousand brave actions were performed by the besieged. The duke of Maïenne, who knew this place was of great importance to the league, sent orders to the duke D'Aumale *, lieutenant general, who was then at Ham with some of the forces of the party, not to neglect giving it all possible assistance till he approached. The duke D'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw succours into it; but La Chantelerie and Tremblecourt, who led them, were cut in pieces one after the other. The viscount de Tavannes †, major general, thinking he might be more successful, presented himself with four hundred arquebusiers: they met with a party of fifty or sixty horse, belonging to us; who, after the Qui vive, charged them boldly, and put them to flight; the principal officers, who would have resisted, were all wounded, and taken prisoners with Tavannes, their commander. D'Aumale flattered himself, that he should, in his turn, beat two quarters of light horse, which he had ordered Bellangliſe to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the king; and having attacked them, these light horse, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, defended themselves so long, and so bravely, that the baron de Biron, Messieurs de la Hargerie ‡, and de la Boissiere, had time to come up to their assistance: after which, these two troops joining, they defeated D'Aumale's whole detachment, which consisted of

* Charles de Lorraine, duke d'Aumale, son of Claude, slain before Rochelle, in the year 1573. He was the third of Claude de Lorrain's sons; from whence issued all the branches of the house of Lorrain in France: that of D'Aumale was extinct soon after.

† John de Saulx, viscount of Tavannes, one of the marechals of the league. See a relation of the sieges of Noyon, Pierrefont, and of all these expeditions in the above-named historians.

‡ Lewis D'Ognies de la Hargerie count of Chaune.

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1591. five hundred horſe, and as many horſe arquebuſiers. Very few reached Ham * without wounds, and a great number of priſoners were taken.

The duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that theſe ſhattered remains retreated thither, was a witneſs of his loſs, and proteſted publicly, that he would efface this ſhame, either by raiſing the ſiege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the baron de Roſne † to bring him the Spaniſh troops under the command of the prince of Aſcoli in Champagne; and finding himſelf at the head of nine hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he ſaw that he had to do with men, who ſeemed not to have perceived his arrival. The commander of Noyon had repreſented to him by a gentleman, whom the king permitted to paſs through his army, that he had engaged to ſurrender the place in ſix days, if no ſuccours were ſent to him. The duke of Maïenne, the prince of Aſcoli, and the duke of Aumale, ſuffered Noyon to be taken before their eyes. This commander certainly deſerved to have been better ſeconded. His name was Rieux; and from a private ſoldier, became governor of Pierrefond, by his ſkill and bravery. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he found means to throw himſelf into it, with fifty horſe, and as many arquebuſiers, to reaſſure this city, where all were in conſternation and diſmay, and to hold it out till the laſt extremity.

The duke of Maïenne ſeeing that his army was now uſeleſs, ſent it into quarters, and marched ſlowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correſpondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to execute his deſign upon that place. He privately drew out the garriſons of Paris, Dreux,

* Another city upon the Somme.

† Chriſtian de Savigny, baron of Roſne, in the dutchy of Bar.

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and Pontoise, and suddenly presented himself within musquet-shot of this city, before day. My brother * was governor of it, and I was then there myself; my wound not permitting me to keep the field. As soon as I was informed of the enemies arrival, I ran upon the ramparts with my head bound up; and causing some discharges to be fired at the assailants, forced them to abandon their design. 1591.

The duke of Maïenne succeeded no better before Houdan †, which he alarmed as he passed by. My other brother, who was there with his regiment, and some companies, gave him such a reception, that he retreated with disgrace.

What had happened at Mante, joined to the information my brother had received, convinced us, that the enemies had a correspondence in the city. After consulting together upon what was necessary to be done on this occasion, I fixed upon the following expedient: I had still in my pay six of those brave soldiers, who served as a forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, besides their pay, I gave eight livres a month. They were then in my brother's garrison, to whom I could not refuse them, and their fidelity I was absolutely assured of. As it had been concerted with us two, they pretended to be discontented with the governor of Mante; and presenting themselves to the garrison of Pontoise, were received with open arms. They immediately proposed to D'Alincourt ‡ to make him master of Mante by the connexion which they told him they still had in that place. To convince the governor of this, they asked for four soldiers, whom by my connivance they conveyed into Mante,

* Solomon de Bethune, called baron de Rosny, the author's youngest brother, and the third of those four brothers he mentioned at the beginning of these Memoirs.

† On the borders of France and Normandy.

‡ Charles de Neufville, marquis D'Alencourt, son to Nicolas de Neufville de Villeroi, secretary of state: he will be mentioned afterwards.

and

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1591. and directed them to get acquainted with some citizens, who were well disposed to engage in all sorts of factions. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the league. These four soldiers found so little difficulty in the prosecution of their design, that D'Alencourt, believing the success of it infallible, would have all the honour of it to himself. My soldiers gave me exact information of all that was contriving in Pontoise, and the joy which so well concerted an enterprise occasioned there. The general council of the league, headed by the cardinal of Bourbon *, resided in that city.

Mean time I took my measures very deep, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I caused trains of gunpowder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to scale, without any one's perceiving it; and shut up all the houses that stood near that side; after which I introduced into the place, by small divisions at different times, the best soldiers of the garrisons of Nogent, Vernon, and Meulan. This done, I thought myself obliged to send and inform the king, who was at Compeigne, of all that passed; which ruined our project. This prince could not resist the desire he had to receive the duke of Maïenne himself in Mante, and imagined he took sufficient precaution against hurting our scheme, by not entering Mante till the

* This is not the old cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, son of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony king of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed king. He died of the stone the year before, at Fontenai, in Poitou, whither Henry IV. had caused him to be removed from Chinon, aged sixty-seven years; a prince, who had reason to complain, that they obliged him to ascend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV. gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, says Cayet, to preserve it for that prince whom he loved. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. book ii. p. 357. The person mentioned here, is the cardinal his nephew, named Charles after him, son to Lewis the first, prince of Condé, slain at Jarnac, and brother to the prince of Condé, who died at St. John D'Angely, to the prince of Conti, and the count of Soissons. He is mentioned in another place.

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night that it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horſe, and the ſame number of foot. As for me, when I ſaw him arrive, I was ſo well perſuaded that all our meaſures were broke, that I could not help reproaching him with ſome warmth for coming thus to undo our work, and expoſing, perhaps, the lives of the four ſoldiers, who conducted it, by means of the evidences that might appear againſt them. The king aſſuring me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, went to ſup at the governor's, and there, being fatigued with his long journey, threw himſelf upon a bed with his cloaths on, and large boots. 1591.

Day came, without any appearance of the enemies: I watched for them all night upon the ramparts with one of my brothers; the other ſtaid with the king. Juſt as I had retired to reſt, Bellengreville, whom I had ordered to obſerve the enemies motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the duke of Maïenne having received advice that ſome troops, led by the king in perſon, had entered Mante in the night, ſuppoſed his deſign was diſcovered, and had retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the king, to whom he made the ſame report, and as a proof of the truth of what he ſaid, produced two carts, loaden with rope-ladders, and ſuch other inſtruments, which the leaguers, imagining they already ſaw the king at their heels, had left in the field, that they might not obſtruct their retreat. The affair became public and irretrievable; for the ſoldiers who eſcaped on both ſides could not be ſilent.

The king ſucceeded better at Louviers *. This city kept a prieſt †, in its pay, who from the top of a belfrey, which he never left, played the part of a ſpy with great exactneſs. If he ſaw but a ſingle perſon in the field, he rung a certain bell,

* In Upper Normandy. † This prieſt was called John de la Tour.

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1591. and at the ſame ſide hung out a great flag. We did not deſpair of being able to corrupt his fidelity; which two hundred crowns, and a promiſe of a benefice worth three thouſand livres a-year, effected. There remained only to gain ſome of the garriſon; the Sieur Du Rollet took this upon himſelf, and ſucceeded. He addreſſed himſelf to a corporal and two ſoldiers; who eaſily prevailed upon the reſt of the garriſon to truſt the guard of one of the gates to them only. Every thing being concluded upon, the king preſented himſelf before Louviers, at twelve o'clock in the night *. No one rung the bell, nor was there the leaſt motion in the garriſon. Du Rollet entered, and opened the gate, through which the king paſſed, without the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, into the center of the town. Fontaine-Martel made ſome ineffectual efefforts to draw the garriſon together; as for the citizens, they were employed in concealing their wives and daughters. This city, whoſe chief riches conſiſted in its magazines of linen and leather, was wholly pillaged. I had a gentleman with me, called Beaugrard, a native of Louviers, who was of great uſe to us in diſcovering where theſe ſort of goods were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amaſſed together. The produce of my ſhare amounted to three thouſand livres. The care of Louviers was by the king conſigned to Du Rollet.

The ſame good fortune attended the duke of Montpenſier in all his enterpriſes in Normandy †.

* June 5.

† In the Lower Normandy Falaize, Baïeux, Argentan Lizieux, &c. were in the intereſt of the league; Caën, Alençon, Séez, Ecouché, &c. in the king's. The moſt conſiderable action happened in April 1589, in the field of Argentan, near Pierrefitte, Villars, and Commeaux, where the duke of Montpenſier cut off the leaguers of thoſe cantons, whom they called Gautiers, to the number of five or ſix thouſand. They were commanded by the count of Briſſac, Pierrecourt, Louchan, the baron d'Echauſour, and others. Three thouſand were left dead upon the ſpot, and a thouſand taken priſoners; the reſt eſcaped to Argentan. Commeaux, which is at preſent ſcarce a village, was

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This ſucceſs was no more than neceſſary to comfort the king for the news he received, that the duke of Guiſe *, whom he conſidered as his principal enemy, had eſcaped from the caſtle of Tours, where he had been confined ever ſince the aſſaſſination at Blois. The king now reſumed his former deſign of attempting Rouen. Secure of the aſſiſtance and affection of almoſt all the cities of Normandy, he quitted Mante, where for ſome time paſt he had fixed his abode, and made it a little capital for the reſidence of his court and council; and cauſed his troops to file off towards this city. While preparations were making for this important ſiege, Henry took a private journey to Compeigne, of which love was the true cauſe, though he gave out that it was to ſend to Germany for a recruit of horſe. The viſcount Turenne undertook this affair, through gratitude for the king's having effected, and honoured with his preſence, his marriage with mademoiſelle de Sedan †, daughter, and ſole heireſs of the deceaſed 1591.

taken with great difficulty. At length the duke of Montpenſier extirpated this whole party, and reduced ſeveral of the rebellious cities. He was aſſiſted by the count of Torigny, Meſſ. D'Emery, De Loncaunai, De Beuvron, De Viqnes, De Bacqueville, L'Archant, and others. See theſe expeditions in the third volume of the Memoirs of the league.

* Charles of Lorrain, ſon of Henry duke of Guiſe, who was ſlain at Blois, and of Catherine of Cleves. He was born in the year 1571. "The flight of the "duke of Guiſe will ruin the "league," ſaid Henry IV. as it is related by Le Grain. The duke's valet de chambre having found means to amuſe Rouvrai, and his guards, either by play, or drinking, let him down from the higheſt window in the caſtle, in the midſt of the day, with a rope, which he afterwards made uſe of to deſcend himſelf. The duke got into a ſmall boat, which carried him to the other ſide of the river, where two horſes waited for him, &c. Matthieu, Vol. II. p. 81. Cayet, Vol. II. book iii. p. 465, &c.

† Charlotte de la Mark, daughter of Robert de la Mark, ſovereign prince of Sedan, and of Frances of Bourbon-Montpenſier, by the death of her brother, William Robert de la Mark, duke of Bouillon, which happened at Geneva, in the year 1588, ſhe became heireſs of this principality. The duke, in his laſt will, forbad his ſiſter to marry a Roman catholic. This circumſtance, the king's friendſhip for the viſcount Turenne, his deſire of taking the lady from the dukes of Lorrain, Montpenſier, and Nevers, each of whom demanded her for his ſon; policy, which adviſed him to give

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1591. duke of Bouillon, which was concluded this year. nor was I, for my part, ſorry that this retreat gave me an opportunity of enjoying, ſome time longer, at Mante, the company of madam Châteaupers, with whom chance had brought me acquainted; and the inclination I felt for her was ſtrong enough to make me entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage.

The king had expreſly forbidden all commerce, and exportation of merchandiſes, and every kind of proviſion into Paris and Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this, as in every thing elſe, he was very ill obeyed. The governors of paſſes, eſpecially on the ſide of the Seine, gained by the immenſe ſums, which they procured them, almoſt publickly granted the neceſſary paſſports for merchants, and maſters of boats. De Fourges, whom I have formerly mentioned, came one day and informed me, that a large boat, whoſe lading was reputed worth fifty thouſand crowns, had gone up the river to Paris, where, after a few days ſtay, a leſs one would bring back the produce in ſilver to Rouen; which he was well aſſured of, becauſe his father had charge of the boat. I cauſed it to be ſo well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I ſaw with aſtoniſhment the paſſport ſigned by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the other of Mante; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but cauſed the boat and its maſter to be brought to Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the fifty thouſand crowns in ſpecie. But ſeeing only ſome pieces of gold and ſilver thread, and a piece of Spaniſh ſilk, I threatened

an ambitious neighbour to the duke of Lorrain; and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the viſcount to lay aſide his deſign of making himſelf head of the calviniſts in France: theſe were the motives which determined Henry IV. to marry the heireſs of Sedan to the viſcount Turenne.

to

to put the master of the boat into a dungeon. 1591.
The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, presented me with letters of exchange for six and thirty thousand crowns, which he would have persuaded me was the whole produce of the sale; but as he defended himself with much action, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and so great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an instant covered with crowns of the sun *. He probably intended to apply this sum to his own use, or thought it could be in no place so secure as about himself. 'Tis impossible to express the confusion he was in at this accident. After diverting myself some time in obliging him to take several turns about the room, I ordered him to strip, and found seven thousand crowns in gold sewed up in his cloaths. I was then in some necessity for money, and waiting for the sale of my corn, wood, and hay, at Rosny: the king made me a present of this sum, and was extremely pleased with the recital of poor Fourges's adventure. As for Berengueville, and my brother, they were extremely angry with me. But to return to the siege of Rouen.

The king had never seen himself at the head of such considerable forces. Four thousand English were sent him under the command of Roger Williams, and he expected soon a second reinforcement from England, which landed during the siege, commanded by the earl of Essex †, the minister and favourite of queen Elizabeth. The United Provinces, besides the two regiments in the service of this prince, sent a fleet of fifty sail well equipped, with two thousand five hundred

* A gold coin current in those times. It was first struck in the reign of Lewis XI. and so called, because there was the figure of a sun above the crown. The value of these crowns at this time is sixty-four sols.

† Robert D'Evreux, earl of Essex, favourite to queen Elizabeth. See the letter of thanks which Henry IV. wrote to queen Elizabeth. Villeroy's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 249.

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1591. ſoldiers, under the command of count Philip of Naſſau, on board, to the coaſt of Normandy. The duke of Bouillon (for the viſcount Turenne took this title after his marriage) ſucceeded ſo well in his negotiation in Germany, that he brought back five or ſix thouſand horſe, and ſome companies of foot, with the prince of Anhalt at their head. Theſe foreign auxiliaries, joined to ſix thouſand Swiſs, which the king had in his pay, to different reinforcements that came from ſeveral places, particularly Normandy; and to thoſe troops, either proteſtants or catholics, that were at his own diſpoſal, compoſed, in all, an army of forty thouſand men. Caën, and the other chief towns of the province, engaged to furniſh proviſions, and every thing neceſſary for a ſiege, which could not fail of being long, the goodneſs of the place, and the ſtrength of the garriſon conſidered. The marquis of Villars *, well known for his courage and capacity, ſhut himſelf up there with the ſon of the duke of Maïenne, reſolved to bury themſelves under its ruins. In effect, from the day that we ſat down before this city, till the prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raiſe the ſiege, there paſſed almoſt ſix months; and what is worſe, ſix winter months: for it was inveſted the firſt of October, and abandoned the twentieth of March following, after attempts on the part of the beſiegers, and a reſiſtance on that of the beſieged, ſome circumſtances of which I ſhall relate.

The troops of the beſiegers were placed in different quarters; the king's were at Darnetal, and that of my company at Freſne l'Eſplen, whither I ſeldom went, the king having honoured me with a lodging in his. Here I diſpoſed myſelf for a long ſtay, and hardly ever quitted him or the ma-

* André de Brancas-Villars, of the ancient family of Brancatio, originally Neapolitan. It is not the ſame with that of the marquis of Villars, which is deſcended from Honoré baſtard of Savoy.

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rechal de Biron. At first there appeared such an emulation amongst the officers to be employed, that, to avoid all disputes, the king regulated the time and duration of each of their services; and declared that every fourth day he would himself work at the trench, with the gentlemen that were about his person, who were to the number of two or three hundred. 1591.

I had solicited beforehand for a post in the artillery, for which my inclination was so strong, that I submitted to serve not only under the marechal de Biron, but messieurs de La-Guiche *, de Borne, and de Fayolles also. But Biron, who hated me, gained over these generals, and prevailed upon them to exclude me, with which I had afterwards reason to be well pleased; for those pieces of ordnance of which I was to have the charge, happened to fall into the enemy's power.

This it was that gave rise to the marechal's hatred towards me: It was debated in the council on what side the place should be attacked. Biron was of opinion, that we should begin with the castle; I, on the contrary, did not scruple to maintain, that we ought first to attack the city, which would bring along with it the reduction of Fort St. Catherine. This question was a long time the subject of all conversations, as well at the table, as council; and Biron never forgot the expression I generally used, *The city taken, the castle must surrender.*

I cannot comprehend how a man so experienced as the marechal was, could determine for attacking the castle, which, not to mention the uncommon skill of the commander, and strength of the garrison, nor its excellent fortifications, had this circumstance in particular from the nature of the place, that in attacking it without, not half the

* Philibert de La-Guiche, John du Durfort de Boner, Bertrand de Melet de Fayolles.

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1591. number of ſoldiers could be brought againſt it which the beſieged could bring to defend it; which is quite contrary to all other cities of war.

However, the opinion of the marechal de Biron carried it; for his authority, and that dependence to which he had accuſtomed the other general officers, ſecured all the votes. Without doubt, this marechal, flattering himſelf that nothing could be able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an army, took thoſe meaſures which he thought moſt honourable, and likelieſt to bring the ſiege ſoon to an end; and the king, who was reſolved not to ſpare * himſelf, by following this advice, ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion. For I look upon as a calumny only, raiſed by the marechal's enemies, that report which was whiſpered in the army, that he had aſked the king for the government of Rouen, which this prince had refuſed him, becauſe he had before promiſed it to Du Hallot †, upon the recommendation of monſieur de Montpenſier; and that he endeavoured ſecretly to thwart this enterprize, and, through envy, gave ſuch advice as he knew would render all our efforts upon this place ineffectual. 'Tis certain, theſe continual conteſts with the duke of Bouillon had more than once been like to ruin all; for this nobleman, to be revenged on the king, raiſed a mutiny amongſt the horſe and other German forces which he had brought with him.

* Perhaps alſo they depended upon blowing up the fort of St. Catherine with the mine; but the deſign was diſcovered by the beſieged. Memoirs of the league, Vol. V. Thoſe writers that have defended the marechal Biron's advice againſt that given by the duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they ſhould begin the attack, ſay, that it was very difficult, and, at the ſame time very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV. to leave behind them the fort of St. Catherine, the hill eſpecially being ſo near the city. See, upon the operations of this ſiege, F. Matthieu, Vol. II. p. 96, and following. Cayet, Chron. Novenn. Vol. II. book iv. (who is for the duke of Sully's opinion againſt the marechal Biron) and other hiſtorians.

† Francis de Montmorency Du Hallot, lieutenant-general for the king in Normandy. He was wounded at the ſiege of Rouen, and afterwards ſlain by the marquis d'Allegre.

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The batteries were accordingly raiſed oppoſite to the fort, and we contented ourſelves with guarding the lower part of the river, and placed there ſome companies of German foot, which having been worſted in ſeveral ſallies that were made on that ſide, yielded the poſt to the Dutch, who underſtood ſieges better than they. In effect, theſe laſt maintained themſelves there, and prevented any more ſallies from that place. It was not long before the king perceived that he had engaged in a very difficult attempt; but nothing, he imagined, was impoſſible to continued labour. Villars was not contented with defending himſelf within; he ſallied out of the caſtle, and cauſed a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over-againſt the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of ſix or ſeven hundred men. 1591.

As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only diſordered the beſiegers in their attacks upon the caſtle, but alſo expoſed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the ſame time they had the garriſon from within in front, the king reſolved to ſeize it, and rendered it uſeleſs to the enemy. For this purpoſe he made choice of the ſame night when it was his turn to watch at the trench with his three hundred gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, beſides their uſual arms, halberts in their hands, and piſtols at their girdles, and to this troop added four hundred muſketeers. It was at midnight, and amidſt the extreme cold of December, that we attacked this trench in different places. The action, which was very obſtinate, continued half an hour with equal animoſity on both ſides. We uſed our utmoſt endeavours to gain the brink, and the beſieged repulſed us ſeveral times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my arms looſened or broke in pieces. Maignan, whom I had obtained permiſſion

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1591. to keep near me, raiſed me, put my arms again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at laſt carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom we threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort, but the king had the precaution to order ſome gabions, hogſheads, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the Engliſh, to whom he committed the guard of it.

Villars did not expect to have ſeen his outworks carried in ſo ſhort a time. When he was told it, and that it was the king himſelf who had conducted the enterprize, "By heavens," ſaid he, "this "prince deſerves a thouſand crowns for his valour. "I am ſorry that, by a better religion, he does "not inſpire us with as ſtrong an inclination to "gain him new ones as to detain from him his "own; but it ſhall never be ſaid, that I have "failed to attempt on my own perſon what a great "king has performed in his." In effect, he put himſelf at the head of four hundred men, armed as he had been told the king's were, and taking alſo eight hundred muſketeers ſelected out of his whole number, he attacked the Engliſh, and diſlodged them from the trench. The king, piqued with the vanity of Villars, and reſolving not to let go his hold, prepared for a ſecond attempt. The Engliſh, apprehending reproaches, which they certainly had not deſerved, intreated the king to put a hundred Engliſh gentlemen in his troop, and to ſuffer all the foot, who were to attend him on this occaſion, to be Engliſh likewiſe. They alſo demanded leave to ſuſtain the firſt effort of the enemy, and behaved ſo bravely, that the trench was a ſecond time regained: they afterwards maintained themſelves in it, and took away from the beſieged all inclination to approach it for the future. By this obſtinate ſtruggle for a trench only, it is eaſy to judge of the event of a ſiege, of

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of which this attack was but the beginning. The king was ſenſible, that notwithſtanding all his care, and the infinite labour he underwent, he would find great difficulty in ſucceeding. It was the good deſtiny of France that preſerved this prince on occaſions, when he hazarded his perſon in ſuch a manner, as to make us tremble for his life. And it was upon this account, that the next day after the trench was taken, I took an opportunity to expreſs our common fears, when he drew me aſide, in the preſence of the catholics, and all the courtiers, to converſe with me upon the preſent ſituation of his affairs. "I cannot do otherwiſe, my "friend," replied he, as ſoon as I began to expoſtulate with him; "and ſince it is for my glory "and crown that I fight, my life and every thing "elſe ought to be of no conſideration with me." 1591.

It is certain, that in the king's ſituation he could not do leſs than he did, to perſuade the world, that if this ſiege failed, it would not be through his fault; and all thoſe inſtances of ſhining valour were no more than neceſſary to efface the ſhame of being foiled in an attempt which one half of his army feared he ſhould ſucceed in, almoſt as much as the enemies themſelves. Theſe were the very ſame catholics whom I have formerly mentioned, who, not contented with having obliged him to begin the ſiege at a place which rendered the taking of the city impoſſible, ſuffered him to ſuſtain all the danger and fatigue, obeyed him but by halves and with regret, created innumerable difficulties, and publickly declared, that nothing was to be expected from them, while he continued to profeſs a religion different from their own.

It was to expreſs himſelf freely upon ſo many cauſes of uneaſineſs, that he was deſirous of diſcourſing with me, and I then ſaid nothing to him which he did not know as well as myſelf, at ſo little trouble were his domeſtic enemies to conceal their ſentiments. He told me, he had perceived for

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1591. for ſome time the approach of a much greater misfortune, which was the deſertion of all the catholics in his army, "which will bring along with it," added he, "the ruin of the ſtate, and the houſe of "Bourbon; for if they once break with me, they "will never more chuſe a king out of that family." He added, that this diſobedience was an incurable evil, which he was obliged to diſſemble the knowledge of. He made me obſerve, that at the very time we were ſpeaking, meſſieurs De Nevers, De Longueville, De la Guiche, D'O, and De Châteauvieux, jealous of ſo familiar a converſation with an huguenot, looked at us maliciouſly from a corner of the hall, and whiſpered continually together. For this reaſon, he ſaid, it would be neceſſary to ſeparate, and that he would go and tell them our diſcourſe turned upon a negotiation with the marquis of Villars, which, in reality, the king had hinted to me in this converſation.

Nothing could have happened more advantageous for the king, than to have put an end to the ſiege of Rouen by a treaty with Villars, which, in reality, would have drawn him from the league into his own party. It was what this prince ardently wiſhed for, but ſtill leſs for the honour of his enterprize, than the advantage that would ariſe from the gaining over ſuch a man as this governor. He imagined it might be brought about by means of La Font, for whom Villars had great conſideration, though he was only his ſteward. The king was not ignorant that Villars had received this domeſtic into his ſervice, after he had left mine; and that La Font owed his favour with his new maſter to thoſe teſtimonies I had given of his integrity. This thought had ſtruck me before it was mentioned by the king, and I had even found means to get La Font ſounded upon the ſubject. His anſwer, which I related to the king, was, that at preſent he ſaw no appearance of what I propoſed to him; and, far from conſenting to ſee me,

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as I desired, he said he thought himself obliged, 1591.
to preven this master's entertaining any suspicion of his fidelity, to have no commerce with me. All he could do, therefore, was to observe if monsieur de Villars changed his sentiments; and in that case to confirm him as much as possible in them, and to inform me of it.

Henry thought no more of it; but before we separated he asked me what he ought to do with regard to the siege, and the prince of Parma, who, he had just learned, had passed the Somme, to join his troops with those of the duke of Maïenne. The king made no question that his intention was to proceed directly to Rouen, nor that Villars would easily hold out till his arrival. I told the king, that in my opinion there were but two things for him to do, and that it lay in his own breast to determine upon which of them he pleased: one of which was, to change absolutely the order, and place of attack, and to carry it to the side of the city, and there use his utmost endeavours to make himself master of it before the enemy should appear: the other, that without loss of time he should go and attack the prince of Parma, and oblige him to repass the Somme, after which he might continue the siege without fear.

The king resolved upon the last; but, as by following it he had no design to raise the siege, lest the prince of Parma, who perhaps had that only in view, should afterwards avoid the battle, he told me, that he would go and meet him with seven or eight thousand horse, who were of no use at the siege; and that he would attack him with this cavalry, or, if he had not passed the Somme, dispute the passage with him. He quitted me, ordering me to prepare myself to go along with him with fifteen or twenty troopers, chosen from the rest of the company.

I returned at the end of two days from Fresne l'Esplen; and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learnt that

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1592. that Villars had made a ſally at the head of a hundred horſe, with whom he overthrew the guard; and would have been the cauſe of much greater confuſion, if the king, armed only with a cuiraſs, had not ran thither, followed by the baron de Biron, an Engliſh officer (whoſe name I have forgot,) Grillon, and ſome others who were about him: theſe three gentleman eſpecially gained immortal glory there. Grillon's * arms was broke by a ſhot from an arquebuſe. As for the king, having precipitated himſelf into a danger ſomewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himſelf out of it with equal preſence of mind, and equal intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies to be witneſſes of it.

The prince of Parma, with his whole army, poſſeſſed the border of the Somme, and, ſatisfied with recovering this river, made no other motion; for the governor of Rouen had ſent to inform him, that, as he intended to ſtrike ſome important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his aſſiſtance; and he likewiſe waited for the arrival of Sfondrate, who was to bring him the troops of his uncle pope Gregory XIV. †, and thoſe of the duke of Maïenne, who however came not immediately. He had been obliged to go with his beſt troops to Paris, to puniſh the inſolence of the Council of Sixteen, who, abuſing the power he had truſted them with, had dared to hang the preſident Briſſon ‡, and ſome other counſellors as venerable

* James Berton de Crillon, or Grillon.

† Sixtus V. died in the month of Auguſt 1590. Henry IV. when he was informed of his death, ſaid, "here is a trick of Spaniſh po-"lioy: I have loſt a pope who "was every thing to me."

‡ Barnaby Briſſon, Claude Larcher, and John Tardif, lord Du Ru, counſellors of the parliament. "A "cataſtrophe very unworthy of "ſo learned and excellent a man," ſays Mezeray, ſpeaking of the preſident Briſſon, "but uſual to thoſe "who think to keep well with "two parties." For the parliament being transferred by the king to Tours, Briſſon was the only one of the ſix preſidents who re-

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for their virtue as their age; and who might possibly have carried their outrages farther, if the duke of Maïenne, fearing perhaps some sudden caprice of these rebels * against himself, had not doomed them to the like punishment: but as in executing this act of justice he had certain measures to keep, he did not join the prince of Parma as soon as had been expected. 1592.

The king, when he was informed of this disposition, thought it necessary to hasten his march. He left to the marechal Biron the care of carrying on the siege, whose forces he weakened but by seven or eight thousand horse; consisting from three to four thousand French troopers, as many German horse, and a thousand horse-arquebusiers; at the head of which he left Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He passed the first day by Boissiere and Neuf-Châtel; the second by Blangy, Londiniere, Longueville, Senerpont, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with one detachment only, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers.

We met a considerable party, led by messieurs de Rosne †, de Balagny, de Vitry, the baron de la

mained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of first president, and it was he that helped to degrade king Henry III. According to the duke of Nevers' observation, his death was looked upon to be a just punishment of his ingratitude. Henry III. had freely bestowed upon him the post of president. However, he was one of the greatest men of the robe. The duke of Maïenne revenged his death, by causing Louchard, Ameline, Aimonet, and Anroux, four of the sixteen, to be hanged in a parlour of the Louvre. See the historians.

* One of the sixteen, named Normand, said one day in the duke of Maïenne's chamber, "Those "who made him, have a right to "unmake him." Hamilton, the curate of St. Côme, a furious leaguer, came himself, attended by priests, instead of soldiers, to seize the counsellor Tardif in his house.

† Christian or Chrétan de Savigny, baron of Rosne; John de Montluc de Balagny; Lewis de l'Hopital, lord de Vitry; Claude de La-Châtre; Antony de St. Pol; Valentine du Pardieu, lord de la Mothe, governor of Valenciennes. This last was a Frenchman, of the country of Beauvoisis; but he had all his life served in the Spanish army, and was slain in the year 1595, at the siege of Dourlans, at the

Châtre,

1592. Châtre, St. Pol, La Mothe, and others, who had doubtleſs advanced with the ſame deſign as we, to diſcover the ſituation and forces of the enemy. The king commanded the baron de Biron, meſſieurs de Lavardin, de Givry *, de St. Geran, de Marivaut, de Chanlivaut, La-Curée, d'Arambure ‡, and ſome others, to go and attack them, who were repulſed and handled very roughly; and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry ran with three hundred horſe to diſengage them; and, believing this encounter might be followed by an action more conſiderable, at leaſt between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he ardently wiſhed for, ſent orders to Nevers to haſten and join him: but the prince of Parma had a contrary deſign, and reſtrained his ſquadrons, who had retreated of themſelves when they perceived ours advance; and the king, ſeeing no appearance of effecting any thing in the midſt of ſo many battalions, contented himſelf with obſerving this army cloſely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at † Breteuil; where his cavalry, for fear of a ſurprize, were obliged to keep themſelves extremely cloſe, and part of them even lay without all night, though the ground was covered with ſnow.

The ardour with which the king went to meet an enemy ſo greatly ſuperiour to him in numbers,

head of the Spaniſh artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The king of Spain had juſt created him count of Ekelbeke. See his death and panegyric in De Thou, book cxii.

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. This officer was equally famous for his abilities in war, and his taſte for polite literature. Claude de l'Iſle Marivaut; René-Viau, lord of Chanlivaut; —— Filhet de La-Curée: he was one of thoſe perſons in whom the king confided, and was called by him nothing but Curée. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occaſions. The vol. of manuſcripts marked 8929, of the royal library, is filled with relations of his intrepidity: we may have occaſion to mention him hereafter. He was killed in an encounter at the ſiege of Montauban.

‡ John lord d'Arambure.

† This town, and ſome of thoſe places abovementioned, are in Picardy: the others are in the country of Caux.

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awakened all our fears for the dangers to which he exposed his person, and obliged us to represent the consequences to him in very strong terms. But this prince, who had no conception of that caution we proposed to him, when glory was in question, did not alter his conduct; but satisfied himself with naming thirty of us to continue near his person, and not to leave him upon any occasion whatever. An employment highly honourable indeed; but the danger of which, in some degree, made it less desirable. With this precaution, which was no more than necessary, he only resigned himself still more to his eager thirst of glory. 1592.

Being informed that the duke of Guise, who commanded the prince of Parma's van-guard, had put himself at the head of his troop to facilitate the lodgment of his infantry in a large town called Bures *, he resolved to cut off this troop; which he executed with the utmost bravery, at the head of twelve hundred horse and a thousand horse-arquebusiers. A great number of the enemies were left dead upon the place, and the rest betook themselves to flight. The duke of Guise's green standard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of these troopers should escape, especially their colonel, sent immediate orders to the duke of Nevers † to advance to Bully, that he might possess himself of the road through which he supposed the duke of Guise and the fugitives would retreat to the rest of the army, and to take them prisoners. I was ordered to sustain the duke of Nevers with sixty horse, which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting but in such hands the affair would have an end very unworthy the beginning.

The duke of Nevers, who was the slowest of all men, began by sending to make choice of the

* In Beauvaisis.

† Lewis de Gonzague de Mantua, duke of Nevers, by his marriage with Henrietta of Cleves, dutchess of Nevers.

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1592. moſt favourable roads, and marched with a ſlow pace to Bully, with his hands and noſe in his muff, and his whole perſon well wrapt up in his coach. This once he had no occaſion to boaſt of his extreme caution. It was ſo long before he arrived, that he gave time to the prince of Parma, who was more diligent than he, to throw a regiment of five or ſix hundred men into Bully, who made ſuch haſte that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the duke of Nevers, the ſun was riſen the next day when he had juſt aſcended the mountain, at the bottom of which Bully is ſituated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled, through an exceſs of caution againſt a flying enemy: the firſt, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the ſecond, which amounted to an hundred, went ſome few paces before his coach. But unfortunately, with all his foreſight, he forgot to make ſure of this paſſage, and had not ſent a ſingle ſoldier to keep guard there. He began to deſcend the mountain with great tranquility, and the more ſo, as he was ignorant of the troops that were in Bully. His firſt couriers, entering the city, were ſufficiently ſurprized at the ſight of ſo much good company; but the cold having obliged the ſoldiers to unarm themſelves, and to lay down their pikes, to range themſelves round a large fire that they had kindled, theſe fifty couriers had time to ſave themſelves by flight. They did not direct their courſe to that ſide where their maſter was, but paſſed quite through the city, and went out at the oppoſite end, without being in the leaſt troubled about what might happen to the duke of Nevers; whoſe coach at that time was ſunk into the deepeſt part of a declivity, equally ſteep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place that the duke of Nevers, hearing the noiſe of ſome fuſileers who were firing after his firſt couriers, and the ſecond coming to make their report, full of conſterna-

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tion, he was frozen with terror; and resolving now to lose no time, threw away his muff and his furs, not without several times exclaiming, "The "devil," and quarrelling with his servants for not coming soon enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not disengage the coach, which was forced to be dragged back to the top of the mountain; where the duke again made use of it, to return with more speed to the place where he had lain the preceding night. It was thus that we seconded the king upon this occasion: a truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger was far less than the fear, since not a single man was lost. 1592.

The prince of Parma, by this important blow, knowing what sort of an enemy he had to deal with, durst not, for the future, suffer his van-guard to be separated from the army; and perceiving that the king almost never lost sight of him, redoubled his vigilance and caution, which was, without doubt, the cause that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale: an action uncommonly bold on the king's side, and well deserving of a particular relation here.

Some days after that I have just mentioned, the king following the prince of Parma at a great distance, had advanced with six thousand horse as far as Aumale. Givry, whom he had sent at the head of some troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him in the plain, in good order, apparently with a design to force him back, and to cut him off in his retreat. The king called a council; and finding, as he said, that he had too many and two few soldiers, he resolved to send all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neuf-Châtel, and to keep with him only four hundred troopers, and five hundred horse-arquebusiers, and with this body of men to advance into the plain, to discover exactly the condition and number of the

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1592. enemy; and, hovering about them, to take or cut off some squadrons.

He ascended the hill of Aumale * with his nine hundred horse, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, 'till the sky, which had been extremely cloudy and dark, becoming very clear, he a second time saw Givry return, who came to satisfy him in every particular relating to this army, which was so near that they heard distinctly the sound of the trumpets and drums. The king, however, willing to observe it himself, made an exact review of it, and found that it consisted of seventeen or eighteen thousand infantry, with seven or eight thousand cavalry, who marched very close; the cavalry, in the midst of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered all approach impossible. From this situation of the enemy, he found he had still too many men; and retaining only an hundred troopers, ordered the eight hundred others to repass the dyke and town of Aumale, and three hundred horse of his squadron to stop upon the declivity of the hill, to be ready to assist him, if there should be occasion. Five hundred arquebusiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to post them in the ditches and hedges that were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might harrass the enemy, if they approached too near. As for him, he not only waited for the enemy with his hundred horse, but even marched to meet them.

We now gazed upon each other with the utmost astonishment at the rashness of a design, which seemed to expose the king to inevitable death. No one durst venture to expostulate with him, yet knew not how to be silent. At length I was chosen and deputed by the rest to represent to the king, in the name of us all, the danger to which he exposed himself, and to intreat him to

* In Normandy, upon the borders of Picardy.

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alter his resolution. This commission I performed with all imaginable caution. "'Tis fear," replied the king, "that occasions this request: from you, "of all others, I never expected to hear such a "proposition." I conjured him not to think so unjustly of any of us; and told him, that all we required was that he would give us what orders he pleased, provided he would himself retire. Henry confessed to me afterwards, that he was sensibly affected with these words; and repenting of what he had said to me, replied, that no expressions of our fidelity could reach the idea he conceived of it. "But," added he, coldly, and with an air that convinced me how much in vain it would be to speak to him any more upon this subject, "be you also assured, that I am not so "rash as you imagine; that I am as careful of "myself as any other, and that I will retreat so "seasonably that no misfortune shall happen." 1592.

The prince of Parma looked upon this bold attempt as a snare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he should meet with the king's, which he supposed to be concealed, and much superior to his. He even suspected a long time, that the king's whole army was not far off; and, having no design to engage him, he did not quit his post, which was in the centre of the army, where he was seated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to restrain the ardour of the soldiers, who suffered with impatience a hundred men to insult thirty thousand. However, when he was assured, by the report of his light horse and his carabineers, that at present he had but a hundred horse in front, and that if there was any cavalry it must be on the other side of the valley, he thought he should risk nothing by attacking us; which he did with such fury, and at so many places, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that

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1592. our arquebuſiers had poſted themſelves; and on our arrival the king cried to them to charge, after having firſt warned us not to charge, in order that the enemy might ſuſpect an ambuſcade in this place, and ſtop. In effect, they did ſtop ſhort; but finding that this cry was followed only with fifty or ſixty ſhots which we fired upon them, they came on again more furiouſly.

Our arquebuſiers, ſeized with fear, or perhaps willing to chuſe a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been preſcribed for them, and they were the principal cauſe of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's ſquadrons, encouraged by the little reſiſtance they found, forced our ranks, and we could not hinder them from mixing amongſt us. We ſaw ourſelves reduced to the neceſſity of fighting with this vaſt multitude with our piſtols and ſwords, in a danger that may be eaſily imagined: and, indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for the hundred troopers were already reduced to forty. Henry, ſeeing that none came to his aſſiſtance in this extremity, reſolved to make his retreat; which, on this occaſion, was almoſt as dangerous as a defence, becauſe we had a bridge to paſs, and that bridge at a great diſtance. This prince, with a compoſure truly admirable, placed himſelf in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the order he cauſed to be obſerved, it paſſed over without confuſion. He was the laſt that paſſed, and held firm againſt the enemy till every one of us was on the other ſide. That moment he was ſhot in the reins, which fortunately was the only wound he received, and which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other ſide of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill; where the four hundred horſe he had ſent thither made ſo good an appearance, that the prince of Parma, being more than ever perſuaded that he only ſought

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ſought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and made them all return to Aumale. 1592.

The king, on his ſide, reached Neuf-Châtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The ſurgeons removed our fears and conſternation by aſſuring us, that it was a very inconſiderable one. He obliged us to come near his bed, and converſed with us familiarly upon the dangers of that day: upon which I obſerved, as ſomething very extraordinary, that amongſt us all, who were in the chamber, there were not two who agreed * in the recital of the moſt particular circumſtances of the action. In general, it paſſed as I have related: what appeared doubtful to me, I have ſuppreſſed; but as it is here, there are perhaps few kings whoſe lives † will afford ſo ſhining an inſtance of valour and good conduct.

The prince of Parma's extreme prudence failed him upon this occaſion: it hindered him from cutting off our whole ſquadron, and finiſhing the war that day by the death or taking of the king; for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the duke of Maïenne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniences of a war, of which he was not to have the ſole advantage.

* There is ſcarce any ſkirmiſh or battle of which as much may not be ſaid. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in theſe Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in theſe deſcriptions. D'Aubigné, in that of the encounter at Aumale, does not even mention the king's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, ibid. p. 100, and our beſt hiſtorians, differ but little from our Memoirs.

† Henry having ſent to the prince of Parma to aſk his opinion of this retreat, he replied, that "indeed it was a very fine one; "but that, for his part, he never "engaged in any place from "whence he was obliged to re-"tire." Peref. ibid. part ii. It was on this occaſion that Du-Pleſſis-Mornay wrote this excellent letter to the king: "Sire, in "war you have been an Alexan-"der; it is time you ſhould now "be Auguſtus: it is our glory and "duty to die for you: and yours, "I dare tell you, ſire, to live for "France," &c. Notes upon the Henriade.

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1592. He was not able to comprehend the cauſe of this delay in the chief of the league: the ſuſpicions he entertained of it made him ſuddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back again to the Somme. An action very pardonable in a foreigner, who ſaw himſelf in the midſt of a ſtrange country, where he alone was to ſuſtain the war. Henry, who, without conſidering what was glorious for himſelf in this laſt battle, called it only the error of Aumale, and being ſolicitous to repair this heroic error, could not reſolve to ſuffer the Spaniſh general quietly to retreat; putting off therefore the cure of his wound to another time, he again mounted his horſe, and harraſſed the prince continually, only regretting that he could not do more. But he had a politic general to deal with, who, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, preſented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not break through; and obſerved ſo prudent a conduct, that it was not poſſible, even at the paſſage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The king at length, quitting him at Pontdormy, returned to Neuf-Châtel, to have his wound cured, at the houſe of monſieur de Claire; where I was received as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and ſent all the reſt of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The ſucceſs of the ſiege became more uncertain every day: at laſt the king was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of two hundred muſketeers, and three or four hundred ſoldiers, had in the night made a furious ſally on the ſide of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the king's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off ſix pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, purſuing his advantage, he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked behind; had killed there three or four hundred men, and put the reſt to flight: in a word, that

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that he did not retire till he had deſtroyed almoſt all the works of the beſiegers. 1592.

This melancholy news recalled the king immediately to Rouen: he was there convinced, that this misfortune was wholly occaſioned by the marechal de Biron's fault; but although he looked upon it as irreparable, and hated this commander *, yet he took care to conceal his ſentiments. That irreconcileable averſion which the catholics of his party bore to the proteſtants, made them ſeize this opportunity to inſult the marechal de Biron, who, next to the king, was looked upon as the chief ſupport of the proteſtants. The catholics ſaid openly, that heaven would never favour Henry's party, while he continued a heretic (a reflection very unreaſonable and unjuſt, the ſucceſs he had hitherto met with conſidered); that they expoſed themſelves to the divine vengeance by aſſociating with that reprobate body. From thence, animated by their zeal, they formed a deſign of taking up the huguenots, who had been interred indiſcriminately with the catholics, and leaving their carcaſſes a prey to the crows. Two things hindered the execution of a deſign as contrary to religion as to nature itſelf: the difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the bodies, and fear leſt the proteſtants, who compoſed two thirds of the army, ſhould think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others.

* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the reſpect and deference which Henry IV. thought himſelf obliged to ſhew the marechal Biron, than what this prince ſaid one day to Châtillon, on a certain occaſion, when this young man offered ſome very reaſonable advice, but contrary to that given by the marechal: "The goſlings," ſaid he, "would lead the geeſe to the paſture. When your beard is white, perhaps you may have acquired ſome knowledge. I do not approve of your ſpeaking ſo freely: that belongs only to my father here," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. "We muſt," purſued he, embracing him, "go all to his ſchool." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 16.

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1592. The king, who perceived theſe diſpoſitions on both ſides, inſtead of blaming any particular perſon, or ſuffering a diſcontent to appear, which might increaſe the public broils, affected to ſay openly that the misfortune was not ſo great as had been repreſented. In reality, it did not appear of ſuch conſequence to the king as a diſcord in his army, which would either deprive him of all the catholics in his party, or, on the firſt opportunity, ſet one half againſt the other. It was a mortifying circumſtance for this prince, in the midſt of ſo many cauſes of diſquiet, to be obliged to keep all within his own breaſt, and ſubſtitute unworthy compliances in the place of abſolute commands: but he was not ignorant that the voice of authority, which has the power of ſubjecting all men, when it proceeds from a perſon diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior abilities, has no effect upon minds by religion inflamed and diſunited.

He was perſuaded alſo, that after the misfortune occaſioned by ſuch bad conduct, nothing now remained to be done but to raiſe the ſiege of Rouen: and he ſought for a plauſible pretence for doing ſo, without awakening at the ſame time the public diſſenſions. He learnt therefore with great joy, that the prince of Parma, reinforced by the troops of the duke of Maïenne and Sfondrate, was returning haſtily to give him battle. He thought this a favourable opportunity to leſſen the ſhame of raiſing the ſiege, and to turn againſt the common enemy the fury of two parties which were rending his army in pieces.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confuſion, and regulate the order of his march, he ſent Givry to throw himſelf into Neuf-Châtel *, which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a very ſtrong place, did not hold out near

* A city in the county of Caux.

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so long as was expected: the cause of which is difficult to be assigned; but the whole blame was cast upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worse sustained, than Givry *. Although an old officer, and distinguished by his actions and his wounds, he sustained all the violence of the storm; and was put under arrest at Dieppe, in my opinion, very unjustly. The relations and friends whom the garrison of Neuf-Châtel had in the party of the league, seemed to me to be true cause that the place made so slight a resistance. It surrendered in the middle of March. The king, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and brought off his troops from Rouen without receiving the least check †; and, putting himself at their head, advanced without loss of time to that side on which the prince of Parma was approaching the city. 1592.

On his arrival at a plain, where the enemy's army must pass, he waited for it; and, as soon as it appeared, sent and offered the prince of Parma battle. The prince accepted it with a joy that was far from being sincere: he was afraid of engaging with a general such as he knew Henry to be, and of exposing to the event of a battle the reputation of the greatest warrior in Europe, which a long series of great actions had acquired him amongst his partizans. Finding himself now in such a situation as that he might be forced to fight, he had recourse to one of the most artful stratagems imaginable to avoid it: he caused the best troops amongst all his battalions to advance, and composed of them a front of battle; behind which he drew up, as without design, all his cavalry.

* "Neuf-Châtel might have "been taken in an hour's time," says F. Matthieu; who nevertheless, as well as the duke of Sully, blamed Givry for surrendering without making greater resistance. vol. II. p. 102.

† This siege cost the king a great many soldiers: in those times it was reported that he lost three thousand men, and the besieged only five hundred. The earl of Essex challenged Admiral de Villars to single combat, who replied, that his quality of governor would not allow him to accept his challenge. See the Chron. Novenn. and Mezerai.

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1592. Under favour of this front of infantry, in such order as was usual for an action, and seeming to wait only for the signal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles which served for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and bushes, which the prince of Parma knew well how to take advantage of, they saw themselves immediately out of reach of the king's army, who were ignorant of all that passed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the same rout after the others, in four and twenty hours all disappeared; nor was it possible, on account of the ground being full of narrow streights and necks of mountains, to disorder the enemy's retreat, or to engage with his rear-guard.

The prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the least loss, he had reached almost the gates of Rouen. He knew no person would be rash enough to attempt to storm him under the walls of this city; his design, therefore, was to stay there six weeks, which was a sufficient time to refresh his army in, and afterwards to march back to the Somme by Neuf-Châtel, Aumale, St. Valery *, and Pontdormy; confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the rest of the cities that kept firm to the league, out of a condition to apprehend any thing from the king's army. Henry penetrated into this general's views; and laying aside his design of making head against an army so advantageously posted, suffered the prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another snare for him. He disbanded his whole army, as if it was now become useless to him, or that he was constrained to it by necessity. Part was dispersed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Gisors, Magny, and other distant places; and part had Mante, Meulan,

* St. Valery in Picardy.

and

and the adjoining places for its quarters: the reſt he ſpread about Pont de l'Arche *, Evreux, Paſſy, Vernon, Conches, and Breteuil, and fixed himſelf at Louviers. This conduct was ſufficiently juſtified by appearances: it would not have been long poſſible to have ſubſiſted a numerous army, had he kept them together; but by the diſpoſition of his quarters, particularly the laſt, where he had diſtributed all his beſt troops, and the promiſe he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the firſt order, it was eaſy for him to reunite his army in a ſhort time. This ſeparation, he did not doubt, would make the Spaniſh general perfectly ſecure, and furniſh him with ſome means of ſurpriſing him, at leaſt in his retreat. 1592.

In effect, the prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, ſurrounded by ſo large an army, would be in want of proviſions, repreſented to them that there would be no danger in ſpreading himſelf over the country, and made part of his troops advance to Ponteaudemer: D'Hacqueville † delivered up this city to him cowardly enough; and the king not only ſeemed to be indifferent about it, but alſo feigned ignorance of the enemy's deſign upon Caudebec ‡, which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen; and neglecting to ſend ſupplies to La Garde, who was governor of it, ſuffered this place to be taken likewiſe. He obſerved, with extreme ſatisfaction, that the enemy, after theſe two conqueſts, drawn by the conveniency of lodgings and proviſions, extended themſelves along the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spaniſh general, however, was not without ſuſpicion of ſome deſign in this inactivity, ſo unuſual with Henry; and probably, had he been the ſole commander of this army, he would not have hazarded

* All theſe cities, as likewiſe the places abovenamed, are in Upper Normandy.

† — de Vieuxpont, lord d'Hacqueville. He was gained, 'tis ſaid, by a ſum of money.

‡ Upon the Seine, above Rouen.

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1592. ſo much. But his collegue, the duke of Maïenne, who was detained in Rouen by an indiſpoſition, aſſured him there was no danger; and he believed it, upon a ſuppoſition that he was better acquainted with the ſtate of the country.

The king, finding the enemy contributed of themſelves to ſerve his deſigns, reſolved to haſten the execution of them. In leſs than eight days he aſſembled twenty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, with whom he ſpeedily advanced to Varicarville and Fontaine-le-bourg. All the paſſages between Rouen and Caudebec he ſhut up, and began with revenging himſelf completely for the taking this place and Ponteaudemer, by cutting off from the troops, which were there, all communication with the body of the army, which put them wholly into his power. He afterwards went in perſon with ten thouſand foot, and three thouſand troopers, to attack the enemy's van-guard, commanded by the duke of Guiſe. The ſurprize into which his ſudden arrival threw this troop, gave him an eaſy conqueſt of them. The duke's ſquadrons were broke through at the firſt onſet, and he was obliged to fly with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving, with a great number of the ſlain, all the baggage, which was very conſiderable, in the power of the victor.

The prince of Parma, ſtruck as with a thunderbolt at this news, applied himſelf wholly to ſecuring his other quarters, by placing the duke of Guiſe at Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his diſperſed troops, on all ſides. He was deſirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too ſmall to contain it, he commanded the reſt not to remove far from it, to guard their poſts with great care, and to keep themſelves very cloſe. After this precaution, which he did not think ſufficient, to ſupport all the lodgments ſpread around his camp, he poſted three thouſand men in a wood which bounded them, fortified

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fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and joined it by a line of communication with the camp. The laſt ſtep the king had taken made him extremely formidable to the prince of Parma; but this prince thought to eſcape him by his great foreſight, and diligence in going wherever his preſence was neceſſary: he was again miſtaken. The next day the king ordered the baron of Biron to attack the wood with a body of eight thouſand infantry, compoſed of an equal number of Engliſh, Dutch, and Germans, in order that they might be animated by emulation to excel each other, and cauſed them to be ſupported by ſix hundred troopers, completely armed. The attack laſted three hours; at the end of which the wood was carried. Thoſe who defended it, ſeeing themſelves broke through, fled in diſorder to the fortified camp, after having loſt eight hundred of their men. Their flight expoſed the greateſt part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the prince of Parma thought he had incloſed, as in a ſafe aſylum, the duke of Guiſe, with the ſame van-guard that had been ſo badly hand'ed before. Henry, as if he had a perſonal hatred to the duke of Guiſe, haſtened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot; and judging by the alarm, and the confuſed cries he heard there, that their conſternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with four hundred muſqueteers and a thouſand foot, armed with piſtols and halberts, and attacked it in ſeveral places at the ſame time. The prince of Parma, who had not expected ſuch rapid exploits, ſaw his whole van-guard upon the point of being put to the ſword; and taking counſel only of neceſſity, ran thither himſelf, and vigorouſly ſuſtained our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He loſt there ſeven or eight hundred men, almoſt all private ſoldiers. The greateſt misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew 1592.

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1592. as well how to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm *.

Night approached before this battle was ended. The king, inſtead of taking any reſt after a day of ſuch extraordinary fatigue, employed the night wholly in preparing himſelf for greater advantages. Judging, therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet diſmayed, and half vanquiſhed, would keep cloſe within the camp, where their numbers would do them more harm than good, he heſitated not a moment in reſolving to ſtorm it. That readineſs and diſpatch, which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæſar and Scipio, whom he ſtudied preferably to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night ſix pieces of cannon, which he directed againſt the fortification of the camp,

* The little reliance one can have on the exactneſs of thoſe military details which the hiſtorians give us, is ſhewn particularly in this, in which I have obſerved a great many contradictions amongſt them, with regard to the encampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of theſe Memoirs relates all theſe expeditions in ſuch a manner, that he ſeems to allow but three or four days for actions which could not, and were not, performed in leſs than three weeks. He can no otherwiſe be juſtified, than by ſuppoſing that he intended to give a ſlight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either becauſe he was ignorant of the facts, or had no deſign to relate them minutely, gives room for the ſame miſtake, as our Memoirs, Vol. III. b. iii. c. 15. It is in De Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the league for the year 1592, that we muſt look for them; although, as I have juſt ſaid, their relations differ in many circumſtances. According to the Memoirs of the league, which, in my opinion, merit moſt to be credited, the king defeated the duke of Guiſe on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the firſt of May: on the 5th attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the prince of Parma received this dangerous wound, vol. V. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caudebec that the prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not paſs the Seine till the 22d of May, b. ciii. Cayet is of the ſame opinion, vol. II. b. iv. p. 82. and following. Matthieu blames Henry IV. for not taking the duke of Maïenne priſoner at the ſkirmiſh of Yvetot, and, with as little reaſon, for avoiding a deciſive battle, p. 109. The king is by ſome others accuſed of ſtill greater faults, in being ignorant of the prince of Parma's preparations to paſs the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

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that he might make use of them at the dawn of day. He visited his whole army; and kept it in such a disposition, that it might at the same time and place be drawn out in order of battle. His commands were executed with the greatest exactness: his former successes gave an authority to all his words, that made the most mutinous obedient. 1592.

Here it is impossible to forbear praising the prince of Parma for a conduct, which, in my opinion, can never be sufficiently admired. His camp lay between Rouen and Caudebec, at some distance from the Seine, over which, in all that space, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning the whole camp was deserted. All the troops, who indeed lay there in heaps one upon another, those that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were spread about the neighbourhood of it, had transported themselves to the other side of the river. Can it appear otherwise than a fable, or an illusion? Scarce could the king and his army trust the evidence of their own eyes.

The prince of Parma had foreseen the king's resolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had passed, but it would be stormed, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors. A foresight useless, and only productive of despair to any other, whose prudence had not beforehand provided a resource: for notwithstanding all the duke of Maïenne's representations, he had not delivered himself up so entirely to that security he would have inspired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from danger, if it should happen that he should be one day obliged to engage with the enemy in a country where there were so few resources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

These measures had been to provide himself secretly with all the boats he could find, which he caused to be brought near Caudebec. It was to this

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1592. this precaution, which few generals would have been capable of, that the prince of Parma owed the safety of his troops, and the preservation of his glory, reputation, and perhaps his life. He caused these boats to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithstanding the disorder of his camp, and the inconvenience arising from his wound, he gave such good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage passed securely. This we received particular information of the next day at Caudebec, which surrendered as soon as we approached. He only deserves the reputation of a consummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he was persuaded he should be conquered, and in it behaves as if he was sure of conquering.

On the king's side, but one moment was lost in astonishment: all the others were employed in taking speedy measures to deprive the Spanish general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well considered his attempt, and removed all doubts of success from his own mind, held a council of war, and there proposed to pass his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and pursue the enemy immediately. Some of us, though indeed a very small number, supported this proposition as it deserved. If it had been followed, this campaign had perhaps put an end to the war: but, as it should seem, the prince of Parma, having performed actions that lifted him above humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his side; for, upon the proposal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a cry was raised in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the king had made the most unreasonable proposition imaginable. The catholics, the protestants, and foreigners, seemed to outvie each other in searching for difficulties to oppose it: they cried that the prince of Parma's army, being in a level country,

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country, might get to the gates of Paris * in four or five days; whereas it would be as long before we could gain Pont de l'Arche. They repreſented to the king, that the way through which they muſt paſs being full of foreſts, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous but in ſmall diviſions; and that, although it ſhould have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of ſo troubleſome a march would make it impoſſible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this propoſal as a deſign equally ridiculous and chimerical. 1592.

The king, more enraged at the ſecret intentions of thoſe who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their diſcourſe, could not hinder himſelf from replying with ſome bitterneſs, That all theſe difficulties were only unſurmountable to thoſe, to whom fear and a diſlike of fatigue made them appear ſo. He convinced them they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they might continually ſend detachments of four or five hundred horſe to retard the prince of Parma's march; to which alſo the many obſtacles he would meet with would contribute, ſuch as the paſſage over the river of Eure; Louviers, Paſſy, Maintenon, Nogent-le-Roi, and Chartres, all being ſufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way: that the enemy had no bridge open to them but thoſe of Aquigny, Cocherel, Seriſy, and two or three others which lay out of their road; and that it would not be impoſſible to break or burn part of theſe bridges, before the enemy arrived.

Theſe arguments ſufficiently proved the king's propoſal to be practicable; and it may be ſaid, that the general officers, by refuſing to yield to them,

* It is acknowledged by De Thou, that the king might have ſtopt this army, by ſending his cavalry to ſhut up the paſſage to Pont de l'Arche. It is with great injuſtice, as we find here, that he charges Henry IV. with this error.

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1592. resisted the strongest conviction. And this naturally occasions two reflections: first, how it happened that a prince, who in all his expeditions made use of mercenaries, picked up wherever he could find them, of different counties, manners, religions, and interests, often a very small number, and always ready to mutiny, should be able to perform what is related of him in this history. The second is, what this prince would have done, if, instead of such troops, he had had a considerable number of well-disciplined soldiers under his command, all united, obedient to his will, constantly attached to his person, and willing to sacrifice their lives for him; in a word, such troops as those conquerors had, whose actions have been so highly extolled by posterity? If these reflections are not made every time they offer, it is because that is in every page: and, besides, no one can be ignorant, that we should judge very ill of merit and abilities by success, if we did not at the same time judge of the success by the obstacles.

It is scarce possible to assign a reason for that invincible obstinacy which the general officers in the king's army discovered upon this occasion, in opposing so prudent a proposal, unless it was owing to that disposition of mind which I have just now mentioned. If a small number of French protestants be excepted, whose fidelity was unquestionable, and most of the English troops, who seemed to act sincerely with us, all the rest of the king's army, protestants, catholics, and foreigners, served him without affection, often unwillingly, and perhaps wished more than they feared that he might suffer some considerable loss. However, notwithstanding this disgust to their leader, on some occasions they all performed their duty, and seconded him bravely: such had been the attack of the duke of Guise, the encounter at the wood, and the battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the prince of Parma's camp, if he had

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had waited for us; for at that time all the king's operations, which he knew well how to give a dependance upon each other, were executed with such rapidity, that he did not suffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds to return to their usual habit of thinking. The behaviour likewise of a small number of brave men is alone sufficient to raise emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example, when they are once engaged: but this fierceness, and this ardour, abated, their former ideas return with greater violence, and are so much the more capable of embittering their minds, as they then become sensible that they have done the very contrary of what they intended. Unhappily the leaders of the royal army were in this unfavourable disposition, when the king made a motion to pursue the prince of Parma. The catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared that they were resolved to withdraw their assistance, if the king did not abjure Calvinism, within a certain term which they prescribed to him, and reunite themselves with the rest of France, there to appoint a king of their own religion: these catholics could not relish a project, which, by making the king master of his enemies, would put him into a condition of giving them the law, instead of receiving it from them. 1592.

The huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the catholics endeavoured to enhance the necessity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being sacrificed, while the king only sacrificed himself to that necessity which obliged him to endeavour to gain the catholics. Through an apprehension that, by extirpating the league, they should only labour for the catholics against their own interest, they the easier reconciled themselves to circumstances which would at least make the balance even, and render them necessary: and, in case the king should one day forsake their religion,

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1592. they were reſolved to take ſuch meaſures beforehand, as might make them be feared both by the catholics, and him whom they gave them for a maſter.

Theſe precautions were, to procure a great number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain ſuch favourable edicts, and ſo many other ſecurities, that the king, although a catholic, ſhould find it his intereſt to be well with them. It was towards this end that the duke of Bouillon, who governed abſolutely the reſolutions of the party, directed all his views, and to which he made the five or ſix hundred German horſe under his command ſubſervient. On the ſlighteſt occaſion of diſcontent, or rather on the firſt caprice, they broke into murmurs, and threatened, as they did then, that they would return immediately to Germany. The king, being obliged to behave in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy equally ſuch oppoſite parties, was greatly perplexed by his endeavours to ſtifle theſe ſeeds of diviſion: he was deſirous of avoiding an open rupture, or at leaſt of protracting it, till he ſhould be out of danger. It was this perplexity that reduced him to compliances very prejudicial to his affairs.

There is no maze ſo intricate as was the diſintangling thoſe intereſts which divided the different parties that compoſed the king's army. I have yet but touched upon the ſmalleſt part. The catholics, beſides their common object, had each of them his own private one in view, which was to make Henry purchaſe their perſonal ſervices at a very high price; and he was convinced, that without this ſatisfaction they would not bring affairs to a general concluſion. The intereſts of the French Calviniſts were not entirely the ſame with thoſe of the foreign proteſtants. There were certain times when the Engliſh, who alone were united, murmured amongſt themſelves, that, in all the dangers they were expoſed to, they were actuated by a principle

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principle of generosity, which, whatever turn affairs might take, would bring them no advantage; and, while this reflection employed their minds, they would look upon themselves as madmen, who sacrificed their lives purely to gratify the passions of foreigners, and demand leave to retire, as they did upon this occasion, when they absolutely refused to engage beyond the Seine, seeing neither any security or resource for them in a country at such a distance from the sea. To exasperate them more, and to strengthen their suspicions, the catholics seized those moments of discontent to persuade them, that the king's abjuration was become absolutely necessary. 1592.

With regard to the other foreigners, who were paid for their services, D'O, and these same catholics, had a secret equally short and infallible, and they made use of it frequently: this was to keep the king in want of money. Therefore, when the Swiss and German horse were asked if they would pursue the prince of Parma, they replied only by demanding their pay; swearing, that, if it was not instantly given them, they would return to their homes, or engage in the service of the league.

Even the Spaniards, the king's declared enemies, had also their intrigues, and took part in this prince's affairs. At this very time they made a propofal to him, not only to withdraw their troops, but even to lend them to him, to serve him against the league, in a word, to put the crown upon his head, provided he would yield Burgundy and Brittany to them for ever. In order to assist the king to subdue those scruples which the making such an extraordinary gift might raise in his mind, they recalled to his remembrance the example of Francis I. who, they said, in a situation less pressing, had given up to them the * sove-

* By the treaty which was passed during the imprisonment of this prince at Madrid, the 25th of February 1526, Francis I. resigned his claim there likewise to the dutchies of Burgundy and Milan, to

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1592. reignty of Flanders and Artois; and that of Henry II. who had given Spain more towns * than were contained in both thoſe provinces. The king had ſufficient reaſon to believe that ſo unſeaſonable a negotiation was a piece of Spaniſh artifice, in the taſte of Hagemau, which tended only to create more confuſion, and render him ſuſpected both by the proteſtants and catholics: but, although this propoſition had been really ſincere, he had a motive for rejecting it infinitely ſtronger, which was the implacable hatred he bore to Spain and the houſe of Auſtria.

At laſt even the league, for ſome view or other, entered into the reſolutions that were taken in the king's council. Villeroi, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered Henry, in the name of the league, to give him the crown upon certain conditions. It is very difficult to gueſs the true cauſe of this ſtep: whether diſguſt at the pride and inſolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new ſupplies, or a deſign to alienate the proteſtants from the king. The only evidence of the ſincerity of this propoſition was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to enlarge upon this ſubject.

One of the leaſt conſequences of this chaos of views and intereſts was the ſpreading over every affair an impenetrable obſcurity, and creating in every mind jealouſy and diſtruſt. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that after this the proteſtants and catholics could live together in the ſame camp, without expoſing the king to the grief of ſeeing them mutiny, or of cutting each other's throats. Thoſe

the kingdom of Naples, &c. but this treaty was declared void by the ſtates of the kingdom aſſembled at Cognac.

* By the treaty of Château-Cambreſis, in Jan. 1559, after the battle of St. Quentin, for three cities only of Ham, Câtelet and St. Quentin, France yielded to Spain and her allies more than an hundred and fifty fortified places. The conſtable Montmorency's jealouſy of the duke of Guiſe, and his eagerneſs to be freed from his confinement, made him conclude this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

who

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who in a prince ſought for what is termed policy, might here find ſufficient room to praiſe the prudence of a king who kept ſo many jarring intereſts united, and to admire his diſcernment in diſtinguiſhing thoſe who acted with fidelity towards him: nor ought it to paſs unobſerved, that ſo many ſecret and various deſigns left an appearance of order and tranquility. Falſhood aſſumed the ſemblance of truth, and enmity concealed itſelf under the diſguiſe of friendſhip. Thoſe who pretended the greateſt affection to the king, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own intereſt. 1592.

It would be uſeleſs to diſſemble, that the marechal de Biron often played this game, either through malice at being refuſed the government of Rouen, or deſire of protracting the war *, or a diſpoſition that took pleaſure in creating diſcord and confuſion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the king's inclinations. He always contradicted, either for the ſole pleaſure of contradicting, or becauſe he would oblige every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the queſtion that has occaſioned this digreſſion was debated, he was neither for purſuing the enemy, nor for ſtaying in Normandy: he thought it was neceſſary to go before and wait for the prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to paſs in his return to Flanders. A project uncommonly chimerical, which was immediately applauded by the proteſtants, who were devoted to the will of this marechal.

The king ſaw plainly, that all endeavours to retain ſuch diſcontented troops in his ſervice would be in vain. The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a ſiege ſo long and fatiguing as that of

* "What then, raſcal! wouldſt thou ſend us to plant cabbages for Biron?" ſaid this marechal to his ſon, who propoſed to him an expedient to finiſh the war at one blow. Perefix, part ii. ibid.

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1592. Rouen made the ſoldiers extremely deſirous of reſt The king was reſolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, that a prince ſhould always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he is conſtrained to do. He told the foreigners, that he was willing they ſhould return home, and gave them permiſſion to do ſo. He diſtributed all the money he had amongſt them, leaving himſelf without any to ſupply his neceſſary expences: and though they were not wholly ſatisfied in this reſpect, yet they had reaſon to be pleaſed with the noble manner in which he praiſed and thanked them for their ſervices. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reaſon to apprehend that the army of the league would come thither ſoon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well catholics as proteſtants, to retire to their habitations: and, to lay the marechal de Biron under a neceſſity of not abandoning him with his proteſtants, which, after this permiſſion, he foreſaw he would do, he declared that he would follow his advice, and in a few days would ſet forwards to Picardy; not that he really entered into this marechal's views, but as he had not yet ſhewn himſelf in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it neceſſary to make himſelf known there, and to endeavonr to conciliate the affections of the people towards him. A ſecret * and more powerful motive contributed to favour and confirm this reſolution; and Biron, who knew and flattered the king's weakneſs, drew from thence his beſt reaſon.

* His paſſion for mademoiſelle D'Eſtrées. He ſometimes ſtole away from his army to go and ſee her. He once diſguiſed himſelf like a countryman, paſſed through the midſt of the enemy's guards, and came to her houſe, not without hazarding the danger of being taken. Notes upon the Henriade.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK V.

WHILE the king with a few proteſtants purſued the road to Picardy, the prince of Parma haſtened to Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little ſatisfied with his campaign, diſcontented to the laſt degree with the league, and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he knew was incurable. 1592.

It is in general, and particular hiſtories, that a relation of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different parts of the kingdom, muſt be ſought for. The attack of St. Dennis *, where the chevalier D'Aumale loſt his life; the taking Stenay and Dun, in Lorrain; the defeat of the ſieur D'Ambliſe, with the duke of Bouillon's † other exploits, either before or after his

* Claude de Lorraine, knight of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, having ſurpriſed this city at the head of a body of troops in the ſervice of the league, De Vic ran and beat them back. The chevalier D'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

† The duke of Bouillon took Stenay the ſame day that his nuptials was celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Ambliſe, general of the troops of Lorrain, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the duke of Bouillon had taken from the duke of Lorraine, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of this place, and D'Ambliſe was ſlain.

marriage;

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1592. marriage; the loſs of the battle of Craon *; the defeat of the ſieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou may be added. From the departure of the prince of Parma, to the negotiations which preceded the king's coronation, many things happened worthy of notice, and may likewiſe be found there. I have, in another place, excuſed my ſilence on theſe heads, and the liberty I allow myſelf of relating only the moſt important facts; among which are thoſe that regard the count of Soiſſons, and the duke of Epernon; and even theſe the narration I have juſt made has not permitted me to enlarge upon.

The count of Soiſſons †, after having abandoned the king's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, ſtill retained hopes of marrying the princeſs, his ſiſter, of whoſe affections he always remained maſter. By the death of Henry III. to whom he had laſt attached himſelf, he was left in the king's army, whom he ſerved without affection, and only till he had reſolved upon ſome new project, or till ſome opportunity favourable to his paſſion preſented itſelf. He thought he found one in the ſiege of Rouen, an enterprize, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the king leiſure to employ himſelf in other affairs. He pre-

* This battle was fought before the city of Craon in Anjou, which was then beſieged by the royaliſt troops; they were compoſed of French, Engliſh, and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the duke of Montpenſier, the prince of Conty, the duke of Damville, &c. who were defeated by the duke of Morcœur at the head of the Spaniſh troops, and thoſe of the league. About the ſame time, George de Villequier, viſcount de la Guerche, attempting to paſs the Vienne, a river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a ſmall body of troops of the league, and himſelf drowned in the river. See a relation of the blockade of Poitiers, and the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes before this city, in D'Aubigné, Vol. III. book iij. chap. 11. For all theſe expeditions conſult likewiſe the hiſtorians above cited.

† Charles of Bourbon, ſon of Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, (ſlain at Jarnac) and of Frances d'Orleans-Longueville. He died in 1612.

tended

tended to take a journey to Nogent, and, ſtealing away from the camp, went ſecretly, and with the utmoſt expedition, to Bearn, in order to accompliſh his marriage there unknown to Henry. But he was one of thoſe perſons, whoſe moſt inconſiderable actions were ſtrictly obſerved by the king. This prince penetrating into the count's deſigns, ſent ſuch orders there, that the count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the princeſs Catherine indeed in the moſt favourable diſpoſitions towards him, and ſome ſay that ſhe had herſelf preſs'd him to come thither; but it was quite otherwiſe with the council, to which the king, in his abſence, had committed the care of the province. The ſieur de Pangeas *, who was at the head of this council, oppoſed him boldly, ſhewed him the orders he had received from the king, raiſed the country upon him, and obliged him at laſt to return to France, with the diſgrace of having failed in his attempt; for which the count could take no other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a ſtaircaſe one day, when he met him in the king's apartments at Pontoiſe. 1592.

By theſe ſtrokes the count of Soiſſons's character may be eaſily underſtood; to finiſh the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundleſs ambition. To him every new event appeared to lead him a ſtep forwards to the attainment of his ends, and engaged him in new meaſures, which threw him at ſo much the greater diſtance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himſelf knew not the object his wiſhes aimed at; reſtleſs, uneaſy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to thoſe of the king; he reſembled him neither in humour nor manners. The king was open, frank, and generous; the count of

* —— de Pardaillan de Pangeas, or Pangeac.

Soiſſons

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1592. Soiſſons to a mind naturally reſerved, and incapable of a wiſe foreſight, added an affected moderation and deſpicable cunning. He endeavoured to impoſe upon the world an aſſumed ſeriouſneſs for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and miſtook the frozen countenance which falſe gravity wears for reſpect. Pomp, and the oſtentation of grandeur was his taſte: in a word, ambition had taken abſolute poſſeſſion of his heart, and his whole behaviour was made up of ceremony and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the ſource of that antipathy the king conceived for him, and which he could never ſurmount.

As for the duke of Epernon *, ambition was not his predominant paſſion; he was likewiſe actuated by an unconquerable pride; an inſolence, or

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon, colonel general of France, governor of Guienne, Metz, and the county of Meſſin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and, as the author of his life obſerves, he was the oldeſt duke and peer of France, the oldeſt officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of any order, and counſellor of ſtate, and almoſt the oldeſt man of rank in his time. They called him the king's wardrobe, becauſe of the great number of poſts which he poſſeſſed in this prince's houſhold. There is recorded an excellent anſwer of his to Henry IV. who one day in anger reproached him with not loving him. The duke of Epernon, ſays his hiſtorian, without being ſurprized at the king's rage, anſwered coolly, but with great gravity, "Sire, your majeſty has "not a more faithful ſervant than "myſelf in the kingdom: I would "rather die, than fail in the leaſt "part of my duty to you; but, "Sire, as for friendſhip, your "majeſty well knows that is only "to be acquired by friendſhip." The king, who equally knew how to admire great actions and ſpeeches of this kind, converted all his indignation into eſteem, &c. Life of the duke of Epernon, page 225. The character which is here given of him by the duke of Sully, is rather too diſadvantageous; however, it would not be eaſy to refute what he ſays: all the hiſtorians agree with him in charging the duke of Epernon with a boundleſs ambition, and his correſpondence with Spain is proved by ſeveral letters of the cardinal d'Oſſat. As for his extraction, "Patrem, "ſays Buſbeq, habuit bello egre-"gium, avum tabellionem ſive "notarium." Epiſt. 17. On the contrary, according to father Vaiſſette, he deſcended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Conſult likewiſe our genealogiſts.

rather

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rather a natural ferocity, which shewed itself in every word and action. Ambition, 'tis said, makes use of various methods to accomplish its designs. Epernon, regarded in this light, could not be an ambitious man, for he used only one, which was that haughtiness by which he expected to carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inspired by a harsh disposition, misanthropy, and a presumption that made him consider himself superior to friendship and rewards. He hated the king, because he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were moments when he was not well satisfied with himself. A constant disobedience to his superiors, an insolent behaviour to his equals, and a cruel and insupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the rest of his character. 1592.

Epernon, finding that his enterprizes had not the success his pride had flattered him with, was obliged to alter his behaviour, and sometimes, though but seldom, behaved courteously to those whom he might have occasion for; but even his kindnesses, if that phrase may be allowed when speaking of him, had a sort of spleen and contempt in them: so that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it; no one served him from any other motive than fear, which was the cause that with great dispositions for war, and in a situation which might have made them useful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for Valette * his brother. These provinces, whose governor, before him, had been the grand prior †, the natural brother of their three last kings, despised him for his extraction, and hated him for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epernon (who when Henry III. was living would not remove far from the court) sent them

* Bernard de Nogaret, admiral of France.

† Henry, count d'Angouleme, son of Henry II. and of —— Livingston, a Scots lady.

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1592. La Valette in his ſtead, who made himſelf beloved in Provence, and ſerved the king with fidelity. Henry III. becoming acquainted with the true character of his favourite, began to be apprehenſive of him himſelf; he diſgraced Epernon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arreſt at Angoulême. La Valette, on this occaſion, loſt his government; but all was reſtored to them after the murder of the duke of Guiſe, which laid Henry III. under the neceſſity of ſtrengthening himſelf with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epernon, whoſe vanity would not ſuffer him to obey the king of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoiſe, notwithſtanding all the inſtances he made him by meſſieurs de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, to which he condeſcended himſelf to intreat him. To oppoſe a king was a circumſtance highly flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it: he was the firſt amongſt the nobility to ſign the king of Navarre's excluſion from the crown. It will not be raſh to judge, by Epernon, of the ſincerity of this plea of religion, with which it was then uſual to cover a deſign of reſtraining the lawful authority.

The remainder of the duke of Epernon's hiſtory will give a ſuperficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the ſouth of France. He there experienced great reverſes of fortune: the two brothers aſſiſting each other mutually, were often worſted, and could not prevent three or four conſiderable parties from being formed in Dauphiné and Provence, which oppoſed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, who endeavoured to make themſelves independent. The duke of Savoy *, and the duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there, and their party

* Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. He died in 1630.

became

became very powerful, after the king of Spain had permitted the duke of Savoy, who was his son-in-law, and whom he vigorously supported, to be acknowledged count of Provence, and hold this fief of his crown. In the midst of their successes, these two princes met with a formidable rival, who stopped their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Lesdiguieres *, remarkable for his valour and good fortune against the duke of Savoy. He always continued faithful to the king, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himself the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the sovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wished that the king might long have occasion for his assistance, and never come into this province. Messieurs de Montmorency, and D'Ornano †, gave great strength to this party. The others were formed by the duke of Joyeuse ‡, the countess of Sault, and the count of Carces, with the sieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux, Ligny, Martinengue, and many others, raised tumults there, and filled these countries with divisions and slaughter; but their faction did not yet extend itself beyond the bounds of one city. La Valette was hardly able to support himself longer in Dauphiné, when he was slain at the siege of a little inconsiderable town §. The duke of Epernon immediately invaded this government: for form's sake he demanded letters patent for it from the king, who durst not refuse them to him; but, instead of quelling all these different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the king had as little reason to depend as any of the others. One may judge 1592.

* Francis de Bonne, duke of Lesdiguieres, constable of France.

† Alphonso D'Ornano, colonel of the Corficans.

‡ Antony Scipio, knight of Malta, who took the title of duke of Joyeuse after the death of his brothers. Christiana D'Aguerre, countess of Sault, baroness of Vienne. Gaspard de Pontevez, count de Carces. Hubert de la Garde, lord of Vins. Charles de Casaux, &c.

§ Roquebrunne in Provence.

of

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1592. of this, by what passed at the siege of Villemur *, the only action which I shall give a particular relation of from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can answer for.

The duke of Joyeuse, a zealous partizan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together five or six thousand foot, and eight or nine hundred horse, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, advanced with them on the 15th of June, in the year 1592, towards Montauban, pillaged the little villages, and the flat countries, and after exercising all the cruelties usual in those miserable times, came and laid siege to Villemur.

The sieur D'Ariat, after whom I relate these circumstances, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourse to Themines †, who commanded for the king in that province, and intreated him to come immediately with powerful supplies to their assistance. Themines, knowing he was not strong enough, addressed himself to the duke of Epernon, and while he waited for the reinforcement the duke promised to give him, sent a detachment of small bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, because their horses could be of use to them, the city was so closely environed. Joyeuse was severely punished for the error he was guilty of there, as we shall see presently. This error was the attacking the town itself, instead of beginning with the castle, which, altho' much stronger in appearance, was in reality the weakest. Without doubt he was not sufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a design to make use of the magazines of corn, and other ammunitions, of which he knew it was full.

Epernon sent indeed a considerable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act

* A city of Languedoc.

† Pons de Lausiere de Cardaillac, afterwards marechal of France.

but

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but faintly, and particularly to avoid hazarding much in fighting, these troops, although great expectations were raised by them, minded nothing but recreation, abandoned their posts, and by their bad example did more harm than good to the other royalist soldiers. Joyeuse, who did not want courage, especially when he was to act in person, finding the occasion favourable, and perhaps doubtful of the duke of Epernon's designs, fell upon his soldiers, surprized them, and would have made a great slaughter, if Thémines had not run thither time enough to save the remainder; he could not, however, prevent seven or eight hundred from being slain. There needed no more to make Epernon * recal them absolutely. Thémines afterwards strongly solicited both him and the marechal de Matignon for assistance, but in vain; and all he could do was to throw himself into Villemur, with D'Ariat, two hundred and fifty arquebusiers, and about a hundred or a hundred and twenty troopers, to support the besieged, whom Joyeuse pressed more vigorously than before. He obliged Reiner, who was lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to perform the duties of a governor upon this occasion, to go out, and resolved to defend himself there till the last extremity, being assured that the king, whom he acquainted with his situation, would not suffer him to perish. 1592.

In effect, this prince wrote instantly to the dukes de Montmorency, and d'Epernon, to send him supplies. Epernon, accustomed to disobey, gave no attention to this order; but Montmorency sent him Lecques † and Chambaut, with some brave

* All this is so positive, that it may balance the authority of De Thou, who mentions this fact very favourably for the duke of Epernon, and that of the author of this duke's life, who maintains that his soldiers drove those belonging to the league from Villemur, and put this place into a state of defence, p. 134. The Chronologie Novenn. agrees here with our Memoirs, Book iv. p. 63, as likewise the Memoirs of the league, Vol. V.

† Antony Du-Pleix, lord of Lecques.

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1592. protestant troops. These were still too few in number to oppose the army of Joyeuse, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of Toulouse: Lecques and Chambaut, therefore, had recourse to Messillac *, lieutenant for the king in Auvergne, and to the viscount de Gourdon, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity, as for his deformity. These two officers marched immediately to the assistance of Villemur, with eight hundred arquebusiers, and two hundred and eighty horse. Joyeuse sent to offer them battle, which they refused, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and solicitous only to accomplish their first intention. After this refusal, the besiegers cavalry, who found themselves too much straitened in their lines, demanded permission of Joyeuse to remove into the neighbouring villages, which this general granted with some difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the sieurs D'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that upon the first signal which should be made them, they would return to the camp.

Messillac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiving that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the besiegers, divided their whole foot into four bands, to each of which they added fifty troopers, whom they caused to dismount. A regiment of eight hundred men was drawn up in battalia within view of the entrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain signal. Four hundred men attacked the first intrenchment, and were supported by the four troops. The guard there usually consisted of no more than two hundred foot; but Joyeuse, who had spies amongst us, being informed of the designed attack a few moments beforehand, sent thither four hundred men more, and at the same time made the cannon fire three times, which was the signal agreed upon with

* Raimond de Messillac de Restignac.

his

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his cavalry. It happened, that either through slackness in obeying on their side, or eagerness on that of the protestants, this cavalry did not come up till after the action was begun. Our men advanced before sun-rise, and falling upon the first intrenchment, laid a hundred of those who defended it dead upon the ground; the rest fled towards the second entrenchment, and carrying thither only their fears, this, tho' much better than the first, was likewise stormed with considerable loss. 1592.

Themines beholding all within the walls, seconded the assailants, and made so seasonable a sally, that he completed the rout of the besiegers. Their cavalry shewed themselves that moment at the head of the camp; but instead of putting a stop to this confusion, they no sooner perceived the eight hundred men, which composed the body of reserve, with three hundred horse pushing against them, than they followed the example of the rest of the army, and sought for safety in flight. Their terror increasing every moment, it soon became a general rout, which it was not in the power of Joyeuse to prevent. Dragged along himself with the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and ropes which he had ordered to be thrown over the Tarn. The number of those who hastened thither, on this side, overcharging this bridge, it sunk under Joyeuse, and he and all that were with him were swallowed up in the river. Fear had so blinded the rest of the troops, that still imagining they saw a bridge where none now was, they plunged into the waves where it had stood. More than three thousand foot, and four hundred horse, perished on this occcasion, either by the sword or the water. A prodigious loss for an army so inconsiderable, whereas the royalists lost only thirty men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this astonishing spectacle from the top of their walls, with a joy mingled with wonder and horror; which made them compare an effect of fear, which had

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1592. the appearance of a miracle, with that which the ſacred hiſtory relates of the Egyptians at the paſſage of the Red-ſea. But to return to the king.

This prince went into Picardy, and in order to give employment to his troops, ſent the marechal de Biron to beſiege Epernai *. The ſiege was long and obſtinate; Biron was ſlain there by a cannon ball †. And if the king, who during that time ſtaid at Compeigne, had not reſolved to ſhew himſelf before thiscity, they would have found great difficulty in taking it. He defeated ſome powerful ſuccours which were endeavoured to be thrown into the place, and obliged it at laſt to ſurrender.

His funds failing him entirely, he was obliged, after this expedition, to diſband the remainder of the foreign troops. He continued ſome time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was ſpread of the prince of Parma's having returned into France to execute the great projects he had formed againſt the king. The death of this brave general ‡ happened very fortunately for Henry, who ſaw himſelf not in a condition to oppoſe ſuch an enemy. The Spaniſh army, having loſt its leader, diſperſed. The time that was taken up in appointing his ſucceſſor, gave the king leiſure to breathe again; he

* In Champagne.

† Which took off his head. He was almoſt as famous for his learning as his abilities in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loſs we have had of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in ſeven battles, and every wound he received in theſe battles made a ſcar. He was god-father to cardinal de Richlieu, who was named after him. The city of Contaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of this marechal in Brant. Vol. III.

‡ At Arras in the abbey of St. Vaaſt. The Spaniards were accuſed of having poiſoned him through jealouſy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year before, joined to the bad make of his body, was the only cauſe of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. Cayet, ibid. 90. See in De Thou, book civ. a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorrain to Italy attended by 160 horſe, capariſoned in black. He was no more than 48 years of age. He complained of being twice poiſoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe D'Aubigné, who aſſures us that the Italians were ſo fully perſuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniards, Vol. III. book iii. chap. 28. And this alſo is the opinion of Bongars, Book xlix.

drew

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drew near Paris, and thought of nothing but taking advantage of the Spaniards removal. 1592.

I did not attend the king in his journey to Picardy; I went to Mante, where finding madam de Châteaupers in a diſpoſition favourable to my love, I married this lady, and our nuptials were celebrated the ſame day that the prince of Parma *, with his army, paſſed through Houdan.

To confeſs the truth, the king's politics were not to my taſte. I ſaw with pain, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the neceſſity of complying with every deſire of the catholics, while the proteſtants were neglected; and after the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals many advantages over them, their aſſiſtance was of no conſideration. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealouſy, from whence I concluded, that I ſhould never be able to advance my fortune. I was likewiſe diſguſted with the king's behaviour towards me; his coldneſs, though I knew it to be feigned, had ſuch an appearance of a total eſtrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my eſtate, there to live far from buſineſs, and the tumult of life.

The event juſtified the king's prudence, and I was the firſt to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very oppoſite to my former ſentiments; but then I ſaw things with other eyes. The reflection on all that the proteſtants and myſelf had endured; the little conſideration I appeared

* This could not be till the 23d or 24th of May, as the prince of Parma did not paſs the Seine till the night of the 21ſt or 22d of that month. Here then is a miſtake either in the New Journal of Henry III. printed in 1720, (where in the 271ſt page, the duke of Sully's marriage is obſerved to be celebrated on the 18th) or in the Memoirs of Sully. The baron de Roſny's ſecond wife was called Rachel de Cochefilet, daughter of James lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbaleſte. She was firſt married to Francis Huraut, lord of Châteaupers, and Marais, who died in 1590. She ſurvived the duke of Sully, and died in the year 1659, aged 93 years.

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1592. to be then of, and ſomewhat of that general diſpoſition of mind which always dictated the intereſt of religion, formed all my reſolutions, and were the foundation of that ſyſtem I built for the king, and which at that time ſeemed to me to be the only reaſonable one. I would have had this prince, doing juſtice to thoſe who had ſerved him with zeal and affection, to have refuſed all other aſſiſtance, and caſt himſelf entirely in their arms. I was perſuaded that after ſuch an open declaration, of his dependence upon the proteſtants, England, Holland, and all the proteſtant powers in Europe, would exert themſelves ſo effectually in his favour, that they would ſoon, without any aſſiſtance from the catholics, ſeat him upon the throne.

In this, as in every thing elſe, the king's underſtanding was ſuperior to mine. He knew, from the firſt moment, that a kingdom, like France, was not to be gained by foreign hands; and although it had appeared even poſſible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince ſought to conquer. And he would have thought the rewards which, on that occaſion, he ſhould be obliged to beſtow upon the authors of his elevation, to their prejudice, to have been an encroachment upon their lawful rights.

My laſt motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in that unfortunate rencounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Roſny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal conſequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there ſome time: after a life ſo tumultuous, as that which, till this moment, I had led, I taſted, with higher reliſh, the ſweets that retirement offers to a heart detached from ambition. I amuſed myſelf there with writing the events varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been expoſed for the ſpace of twenty years.

Buhy,

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Buhy *, the king's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to visit me, and informed me that the king had written to all the governors to draw together what troops they were able, and to come immediately to his assistance; for it was about this time that they were in expectation of the prince of Parma's return into France; and Buhy, therefore, asked me, if I would not, upon this occasion, do as others did. This question recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requested, and had been denied to me; and, lastly, the post of one of the king's lieutenants, which the duke of Nevers, and the catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a very haughty and insulting manner. I answered this officer, with some emotion, that if the king had had any occasion for my service, he would have done me the honour to write to me. Buhy found something of anger in my reply, and, like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the king, and gave him to understand, that he ought no longer to have any dependence on me, for I had resolved to spend the rest of my days in the country. This circumstance was added by himself; for I did not esteem Buhy so much as to make him my confidant. "His disposition then is greatly altered," replied the king immediately, "for he never failed "to be present on such occasions as are now ap- "proaching. Although he excuses himself on "account of his wounds, I know well what de- "tains him; he is offended with me, and not "without reason. He would play the philoso- "pher for the future; but when I see him, I shall "be able to make all up again; for I know him "thoroughly." 1592.

This conversation passed in the presence of the president Seguier †, who dined with me some time

* Peter de Mornay de Buhy, brother of Du Plessis Mornay.
† John Seguier.

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1592. after, and related it to me. Having freely diſcloſed my moſt ſecret thoughts to this great magiſtrate, whom I knew to be my friend, an honeſt man, and an excellent politician, he anſwered me in theſe words, which I ſhall never forget, becauſe they firſt opened my eyes, and removed my prejudices. "Sir, you appear to me to be touched "with reſentment. We live in a time when tran- "quility is very difficult to procure. The wiſeſt "amongſt us are ſilent, and patient, in hopes of "more favourable days; and the king is ſo pru- "dent, and ſo virtuous, that God has no doubt "reſerved our reſtoration for him."

From that moment, finding no other inconveniency from my wound, than a little difficulty in ſpeaking, I began again to ride, and followed by fifty horſe, I made excurſions over the great road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to reſume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to engroſs me. In the ſecond of theſe journeys, one day when I was riding towards Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Gouſſainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they ſaw us, ſtruck into the woods with which that country abounds. I followed them immediately, and ſeized two of them, who had not quitted the great road. Theſe were peaſants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to ſell their poultry. I aſked them ſome queſtions, and they anſwered me very ingenuouſly; they told me, that it was their cuſtom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniencies they were expoſed to in thoſe roads in the day, but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten perſons in their company, among whom they ſaid were three domeſtics belonging to meſſieurs de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont.

There needed no more to make me purſue theſe three men, whoſe myſterious journey excited my curioſity.

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curiosity. It was impossible to overtake them; my people could only seize two others of those that were of Verneuil, from whom finding I could draw nothing by threatenings, I made use of another method. I gave them four crowns, and promised them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning those three domestics. They desired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, surrounded with thickets, where they told me these servants had stopped, and put some papers into the trunk of this tree: in effect, I found there two tin boxes, and a ticking sack, which seemed to me to be full. This acquisition consoled me for the messengers escape; and after rewarding the two men, I returned to Rosny, very impatient to open my packets. 1592.

They appeared to be such as I wished: in the first I found commissions from the duke of Maïenne to levy soldiers, several letters written in cyphers, in this general's own hand, to the duke of Mercœur: but papers more important engaged all my attention; they related to the third party, which was then beginning to be talked of, and amongst which I found two memorials that seemed to be of the utmost consequence. The first was a memorial of the demands which the president Jeannin * made upon Spain, in the name of the duke of Maïenne; and the second contained the answer given to these conditions by the arch-duke Ernest for the king of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw such light upon the duke of Maïenne's designs, the spirit of the league, and the politics of Spain, as the contents of these two pieces: of which this is an extract.

The duke of Maïenne submitted the league to the pope, and put it under the king of Spain's protection, upon the following conditions, which

* René Jeannin, baron de Montjeu, president of the parliament of Dijon.

regarded

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1592. regarded the party in general, as well as himſelf in particular. Firſt, That the king of Spain ſhould furniſh, and maintain in the ſervice of the league, an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; in which army there ſhould be two thouſand foot, and five hundred troopers, all French, of whom the duke of Maïenne was to have the ſole diſpoſal, beſides four thouſand foot more, and five hundred horſe, French likewiſe, who were to continue near his perſon only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of theſe troops ſhould be augmented as occaſion required: That the duke of Maïenne ſhould have the chief command of theſe troops, and thoſe of the party, with the title of lieutenant-general of the crown, till a king of France was elected: That this election ſhould be made in a general conference, by which they certainly meant the ſtates of the kingdom: That till this election was made and confirmed, the penſion which Spain alread paid to the general ſhould be augmented to as much more, that is, from thirty thouſand livres a month, to ſixty, beſides a hundred thouſand crowns, which he ſhould receive immediately, and a hundred thouſand livres after the ratification of the treaty; in expectation of which, they ſhould begin, by putting him in actual poſſeſſion of Burgundy: That after the nomination of the future king, the duke of Maïenne ſhould be continued in the government of the ſtate, with the title of lieutenant-general; and that then, and not before, he ſhould yield up the city of Soiſſons to the Spaniards, becauſe it was at preſent the only place of ſecurity he had for himſelf in France: That if he found inſurmountable obſtacles, either in the election of a future king, probably from the king of Navarre, or in the invaſion and keeping of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne, the king of Spain ſhould make the duke amends, by an annual penſion of three hundred thouſand livres, for the poſſeſſions he might loſe in

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in France; which penſion ſhould never be leſſened or taken away, whatever agreement might be made between the king of Spain and the acknowledged king of France, but be continued to his heirs for ever: That Spain ſhould cancel all the duke of Maïenne's debts, or thoſe of the king elected with the conſent of this crown, if he was a native of France: That they ſhould give ſuitable rewards to the other principal officers of the league; theſe were not expreſſed, either becauſe the duke of Maïenne was leſs ſolicitous about the intereſts of others than his own, or that he thought this article would be eaſily ſettled, becauſe, if money was wanting, the lords might be ſatisfied with penſions, dignities, or governments. 1592.

Such were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have ſeen, he did not forget himſelf. For all this, he offered the king of Spain (beſides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be deſigned for a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, ſince the duke of Maïenne ſeemed to exclude himſelf) he offered, I ſay, a certain number of towns, for whoſe names, as well as that of the future king, were blanks; thoſe that Spain might take being to be reſtored to the French catholics, under the protection of the king of Spain and the duke of Maïenne. All was calculated for the ſecurity and caution of Spain, till the election of a king, without any further explanation; which proves alſo, that they thought this election would ſufficiently indemnify this crown; at leaſt that they wanted, by this inſinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual aſſiſtance from it. What gave riſe to this ſuſpicion was, their care in inſiſting upon, and often reſuming, the following clauſe: That till all theſe articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allotted the ſpace of a month, Spain ſhould firſt begin by ſending a powerful ſupply into Burgundy, which they ſaid was in great danger.

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1592. danger. The more to haſten the reſolutions of this court, the duke of Maïenne, who throughout the whole treaty ſhewed himſelf to be a faithful ſervant (although a little intereſted) of the houſe of Auſtria, proteſted coldly, that if theſe conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, ſhe might turn to whatever ſide ſhe pleaſed, for he was weary with bearing the burden, and wiſhed for nothing more than to be eaſed of it.

But this was only a feint; he had to do with a council who would not ſo eaſily change, and who underſtood their intereſt ſtill better. To this memorial the arch-duke anſwered, in the name of the king of Spain, That his Majeſty was well pleaſed with the title of Defender of the League, and would look upon himſelf as chief of the party: That they ſhould find him always ready to grant them whatever ſupplies they demanded againſt the king of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he agreed to ſend into Picardy alone the nineteen thouſand men formerly mentioned; it is eaſy to ſee with what deſign, this province bounding the Low Countries; beſides thoſe which he offered to ſend into different parts of the kingdom. He did not ſeem to be ſo much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the duke of Maïenne, probably becauſe the council of Spain diſcovered that this general, who had demanded the poſſeſſion of the province, would be glad that the troops ſhould be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raiſe a thouſand German foot, and to maintain three hundred horſe. He added, however, that if the whole force of the war was turned againſt this province, his catholic majeſty would not refuſe to ſend a conſiderable number of troops there; and without doubt, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maïenne in particular, his catholic majeſty appeared much leſs liberal. Of all the articles this was the moſt reduced: he would make

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make no addition to the penſion of thirty thouſand livres a month; and would grant him but, and that only while he continued in perſon in the army, two thouſand foot, and five hundred troopers. Upon the other articles he was ſilent. With regard to thoſe places which might be ſeized, Spain conſented that the duke of Maïenne ſhould keep what he had taken, provided ſhe was allowed to do the ſame: ſhe would not relinquiſh her demand of Soiſſons, and was abſolutely reſolved to have this city for a ſecurity for thoſe advances ſhe made in this war; ſhe promiſed only to reſign it after the election of the king: this nomination appeared ſtill uncertain to Spain, who gave them to underſtand, that if ſhe was ſatisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand ſhe would riſk nothing. For this purpoſe, all the other articles were left unanſwered, and a new one was added, which was, that the duke of Maïenne ſhould remove certain perſons from about him, who, doubtleſs, did not ſupport the intereſts of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was ſaid, that they had been ſignified by word of mouth to the agent for the treaty. Such were his catholic majeſty's diſpoſitions, who by attending only to his own intereſts, and reſolving to ſell his aſſiſtance very dear, followed exactly the duke of Maïenne's example. 1592.

The reading of theſe papers left no room any longer for reſentment in my mind; and thinking them of great importance to the king, I haſtened immediately to Compiègne. I found time and abſence had not altered his ſentiments with regard to me. I had half an hour's private converſation with this prince, to whom I related in brief the occaſion of my journey. The examination of theſe papers was deferred till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the king's apartment, and remained there ſhut up with him. After his majeſty had ſent

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1592. for Beringhen and Choirin, to decypher the greateſt part of the papers, from them we learned whom the third party was compoſed of, which as yet had been only mentioned in whiſpers, and had been formed even in the court, and ſupported and directed by the abbé * de Bellozanne, the two Durets, and I believe the abbé du Perron; all of them dependants of the count of Soiſſons and the cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the laſt. In all appearance, theſe perſons were the authors, and at firſt the only promoters, of this faction, which was afterwards joined by meſſieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroi, D'O, and the reſt of thoſe catholics who were in the court, who valued themſelves upon being too good Frenchmen to ſuffer the Spaniſh dominion, and too zealous for the Roman religion to conſent to have a proteſtant king. The count of Soiſſons ſome time after joined theſe gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconſtant to his former miſtreſs, he was ſeveral times upon the point of marrying mademoiſelle de Longueville. They had aſſumed the name of politicians, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the royaliſts and leaguers, and to ſhew that they regarded the good of the ſtate, and the preſervation of the rights of the crown beyond every other conſideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the duke of Maïenne, and the king of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more: but the leaders, who were maſters of the ſecret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two laſt by the ſword or poiſon †; after which they might, without any difficulty, make the cardinal of Bourbon king ‡, and, not to

* John Touchard, abbot of Bellozanne; Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry, phyſian; and Charles Duret, counſellor of ſtate, intendant and comptroller-general of the finances, and preſident of the chamber of accompts.

† This accuſation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of thoſe which the author ought not to aſſert without giving likewiſe a proof.

‡ His name was Charles; he was the third ſon of Lewis I. prince of

diſoblige

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disoblige Spain entirely, procure a dispensation for him to marry the infanta. 1592.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of surprize, that papers which contained such opposite schemes should be found in the same packet. Without seeking for the reason of it in the secrets of providence, which by presenting the king, at one and the same time, with all the plots that were formed against his person, seemed to suggest to him such measures as were necessary to prevent them; it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different interests of those persons who correspond together, and some from a great distance, such as the duke of Mercœur *, without any other motive than that common hatred they bore to the king, which gave birth to a thousand chimerical designs, and delivered them up to those hints which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the king of Navarre. In such a confusion of sentiments, it is not surprising, that he should by the same means meet with such opposite schemes.

I continued three days at Compiègne, in which time I had several conferences with the king, who appeared to be sensibly affected with the designed attempts against his person, because he had flattered himself, that his conduct would have suppressed such thoughts. He sent me to Mante, perceiving that my endeavours to speak in these conversations might open my wounds. I received from this good prince all the marks of a tender and unbounded confidence. At parting, he desired me to observe carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myself to give him good advice on his arrival at Mante, being resolved, he said, to regulate

Condé, and Eleanora de Roy. His other brothers were, Henry, prince of Condé, Francis, prince of Conty, and Charles, count of Soissons.

* Philip Emanuel of Lorrain.

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1592. gulate his behaviour in ſo difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He ſtayed no longer in Picardy than was neceſſary to make ſome proper diſpoſitions there, and ſet out for Mante. This city he preferred to any other, becauſe by its ſituation it was beſt fitted to diſcover and overthrow the different cabals of his enemies, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to ſucceed to the operations of war. His council was already there, and he cauſed the princeſs, his ſiſter, to be conducted thither alſo. After the diſcovery this prince had juſt made of the plots that were laid againſt his life, it would have been the greateſt imprudence imaginable to have neglected any precautions neceſſary for his ſecurity. He doubled his guards, placed in Limay, which is the ſuburb of Mante, a body of Engliſh troops, whoſe affection to him was unqueſtionable, and reſolved to hold all the world ſuſpected, ſince he was convinced that thoſe perſons whom he had admitted to his councils, his table, and his pleaſures, were capable of forming the moſt violent reſolutions againſt him.

If of all the favours that a prince (as eſtimable for the qualities of his mind as for the greatneſs of his actions) could grant, eſteem and tenderneſs are thoſe which have moſt effect upon a man of honour, how much am I obliged to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence at a time when infidelity, treachery, and all that intereſt could ſuggeſt to ſubjects who had exalted this idol in the place of love to their king, had left him no other part to take than that of a general reſerve and diſtruſt. Nor can I forbear to add (for why ſhould I omit a circumſtance which of all others ſeems moſt likely to procure me the eſteem of truly virtuous perſons?) that in a conjuncture ſo delicate, this prince was reſolved to reſign himſelf wholly to my direction, and to me confide his deſtiny

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deſtiny and crown *, for without me he undertook not the ſmalleſt affair, perſuaded that the advice of a man actuated by a ſincere attachment to him, and (if I may uſe the expreſſion) a true friendſhip, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are joined with a doubtful fidelity. Nothing ever gave me ſo pure and noble a delight as the honour of ſuch a diſtinction: but after having reſigned myſelf up to it ſome moments, I perceived the weight of that burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidſt my joy, leſt my weakneſs and incapacity ſhould engage me in ſome falſe ſtep that might prejudice, not me, for on thoſe occaſions ſelf, I believe, is leaſt in one's thoughts, but the prince who had laid it upon me. 1592.

* If we may believe De Thou, Gaſpard Schomberg, count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, ſecretary of ſtate, and himſelf, contributed to fix Henry IV. in his reſolution of changing his religion. There is not a hiſtorian who aſcribes it to any one particular perſon; they do not even ſeem to have thought of Sully in this affair, which however does not invalidate the truth of what is aſſerted in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in ſome manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Auguſtus, after having deprived one of his chief miniſters entirely of his favour, permitted him ſtill to have the appearance of enjoying it: with regard to the duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary, for he already was in abſolute poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour, while no one ſuſpected it. And that which is moſt remarkable in their hiſtory is, that a long time after this miniſter's favour with the king was known, by his being in poſſeſſion of the firſt employments in the kingdom, even until his maſter's death, in public the king behaved to him with the utmoſt circumſpection; while in private, never were familiarity and confidence carried farther between a king and his ſubject. Hence it was, that in ſome hiſtories of Henry the Great, the authors of which, without penetrating into the ſecrets of the cabinet, contented themſelves with repreſenting only the public face of affairs, the name of Roſny is never mentioned, and that of Sully, ſo well known to writers better informed, very ſeldom, conſidering the part Sully played during the ten or twelve laſt years of this prince's life. Incomprehenſible as this reſerved and myſterious conduct appears, thoſe who reflect upon the ſituation of affairs in thoſe times, together with the religion of the duke of Sully, will comprehend, without any difficulty, the neceſſity the king and his miniſter were under, to obſerve this conduct, and never to part from it. Nor is this one of the leaſt inſtances of the prudence and abilities of theſe two great men. I thought it neceſſary to make this obſervation once for all. "Roſny," ſays Matthieu the hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 278. "had a long time a ſhare "in the king's moſt important "affairs; and from the time of "Henry III. was one of his moſt "intimate confidants," &c.

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1592. From this moment, all thoſe precautions the king made uſe of for the ſafety of his perſon, I alſo obſerved in the advice I was going to give him. I prepared myſelf for it by the moſt ſerious reflections on the ſtate of the neighbouring kingdoms in general; and on that of France, of the parties into which it was divided, and of the king, in particular. I conſidered, that if in ſuch employments as mine, one cannot even be guilty of unintentional faults, without deſerving ſome reproaches, we draw thoſe reproaches upon ourſelves when we act according to the dictates of paſſion. This reflection led me to ſtudy carefully my own diſpoſition, and the bent of my inclinations, and convinced me of the neceſſity of beginning with obliging my own heart to ſubdue and forget itſelf. A ſerious review of my paſt conduct ſhewed me the injuſtice of thoſe complaints which I ſuffered frequently to eſcape me againſt the king's behaviour to me and the reſt of the proteſtants. I ſearched into the ground of it, and I ſoon found it in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one profeſſes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit ought to paſs for nothing, provided one can ſecure the ſucceſs of it. I ſuppreſſed theſe ſentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, as dangerous to him who makes uſe of ſuch unworthy means: and when I declare, that there was nothing I more diſtruſted than thoſe ſnares which the zeal of religion might lay for me, I ſhall be eaſily believed, if the advice I gave the king be attended to.

When I was thus certain of myſelf, I the leſs feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different intereſts, and into future events, which offered, on every ſide, nothing but frightful precipices. Muſt the miſeries of France be perpetuated by giving arms, perhaps, for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then almoſt equal? Muſt a prince, who ſo well deſerved to be happy, wear away his whole life amidſt the horrors of

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of a war, which till then had not given him time to breathe; and, if I determined upon this, prepare for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expose the whole body of protestants in France, who sought only justice and peace, to become victims of human policy, and deliver them up to the snares of their most cruel enemies; and while uncertain of the event of the war, and at a time when the king might be suddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to such an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or, dismembered by a thousand tyrants, lose in one moment the glory of her name, the lustre of her monarchy, and the succession of her kings? What miseries to be expected by a war? what snares to be dreaded in a peace? how many dangers to be apprehended on all sides? Was it possible to take any resolution, when alarmed by so many almost inevitable evils? 1592.

But the greatest danger was the not fixing upon any resolution at all. At last, when all was thoroughly examined, it seemed necessary to prefer that which would put an end to the civil war, restore tranquility to France, submit it to a good king, and put it in a condition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that resolution which might the most effectually remove the present inconveniencies, and procure time to bring a remedy for those which were to be apprehended. In one word, I resolved to prevail upon the king to embrace the Roman catholic religion, and to persuade him to it by degrees. I was sensible, that by this means I should give disgust to two sorts of persons, the protestant neighbours of France, and the French calvinists. But as to the first, France, when united with itself, had no occasion for any foreign assistance; and it was easy to give the second such advantages, as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to

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1592. both, I depended upon that gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of having for perſons to whom he owed ſuch powerful obligations.

Theſe reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compiegne, and I was ſtill abſorbed in them when the king arrived at Mante. The firſt thing he did, was to ſend for me to come to him with the uſual precautions. Jaquinot introduced me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our ſubject. Henry, who on his ſide had made a thouſand reflections on the perplexing ſituation he was in, began by drawing a very natural repreſentation of it; irreconcileable intereſt in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred amongſt themſelves, and rage againſt him; mutiny and diſobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animoſity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all ſides. The end of this pathetic diſcourſe was to demand what remedy I was able to apply to theſe evils.

I replied that, without taking upon me to give his majeſty advice, I ſaw only three things for him to do, and he might determine upon which he pleaſed. The firſt was to ſatisfy every one's demands at his own expence, or rather at the expence of the ſtate; the ſecond was not to make conceſſions to any, but to endeavour to wreſtle vigorouſly with them all; the third, which held a medium between theſe two, was to take away all obſtacles that oppoſed his advancement to the crown, by turning Roman catholic. The king then told me, that what I had ſaid to him was my opinion only, and commanded me to tell him plainly, what I would do in his place. I endeavoured to make him comprehend the full extent of the three different methods I had propoſed to him, by examining them one after the other. I made him perceive,

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perceive, that by following the first, he would reduce himself to nothing, and that if there was a necessity to gratify wholly the rapaciousness of Spain, and the French leaguers, he would scarce out of so great a kingdom keep a few provinces for himself. As to the second, I represented to him, that as soon as he should give room to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the desertion of all the catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible storm. The inconstancy of fortune, and the usual reverses of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. As to the third, I was silent, only telling the king, that being a protestant myself, I could say nothing upon this subject. 1592.

While I was speaking, I perceived the perplexity, into which the present conjuncture had thrown the king, to increase every moment. I did not doubt, but the review of all these difficulties would bring him to the point I desired. I was sure that he would not pause one moment upon the first of my proposals. I knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accommodation which would leave him only the semblance of king, a subject or dependent upon Spain, or reduced at last to a small part of France. It was the two others only that embarrassed him. On one side, he said, by continuing in his religion he saw united against him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and those who were at the head of all affairs, and the finances, such as Messieurs De Epernon, De Nevers, De Longueville, De Biron, D'O, De Rieux *, De Villeroy, De

* René De Rieux, lord of Sourdeac. John D'O, lord of Manou, brother to the superintendant. Lewis de L'Hopital, lord de Vitry. Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues. Francis D'Escoubleau, marquis of Sourdis. Joachim de Châteauvieux.

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1592. Manou, De Châteauvieux, De Vitry, D'Entragues, and De Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He saw them ready to resolve upon forming against him a body independent of the league, or, what was most probable, and likewise most dangerous, to unite themselves with the league, and deprive him of the possibility of ascending the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the dukes of Bouillon and La Tremouille, and the outcries of the protestants whom he was going to abandon; those who were so dear to him, and from whom he had so long drawn his only assistance. He represented them as passing from discontent to a resolution which despair at being sacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inspire, which was to elect another leader, canton themselves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms against them. He ended with these words: "I can never use them "ill, nor declare war against them, for I shall al-"ways love them." This sentiment, which discovered a sensibility so seldom to be found in the hearts of princes, moved me extremely. I thanked him, in the name of all the protestants, by bending upon one knee, and kissing his hand. The reasons with which this prince opposed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone dissipated my apprehensions, and confirmed me likewise in the opinion, that no other remedy could be applied to the present evils. I told him, that messieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, and all of merit and distinction in the calvinist party, would not be so unreasonable as to take arms against him, for a resolution which necessity only had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with that esteem and respect which was due to their persons and services. I explained all my thoughts on this subject to the king, and added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jesus Christ being essentially the same; that is, faith in the same mysteries, and

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and the ſame notions of the divinity, it ſeemed to me, that one who from a catholic became a proteſtant, or from a proteſtant became a catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the intereſt of religion * itſelf, which policy ſuggeſted as the moſt proper means to compoſe all differences: But although my opinion ſhould be erroneous, yet this muſt be allowed to be an inconteſtible truth, that the embracing the catholic religion did not include the neceſſity of perſecuting all others; on the contrary, that God perhaps diſpoſed the king to this change, to give a new example to Europe, and one more worthy of religion itſelf: That the difference of religions had long produced the moſt tragical effects in France, and was a perpetual ſource of diſorders and calamities, by the averſion with which it inſpired people againſt thoſe of a contrary faith from their own, which was equally the caſe with the proteſtants as well as catholics. I told the king, that he might cure this dangerous evil, by uniting thoſe who profeſſed theſe different religions in the bands of chriſtian charity and love; or, if this was impoſſible, preſcribe to them rules ſo juſt, as might make both parties be contented with what was granted them. I did not doubt but this prince would be 1592.

* Add to theſe words of the duke of Sully what he ſays ſome pages before, and what has been obſerved a little higher, where he ſpeaks of the duty and authority of kings in religious matters; it may be determined that he was a calviniſt without rigour, and conſidered all religions as indifferent which agreed in eſſentials. It is thus, that the author of the MS. which I have quoted in the preface of this work, ſpeaks of it, and it is even the chief of thoſe arguments which he makes uſe of to juſtify the duke of Sully for having given to Henry IV, ſuch advice, as, without this, would agree but ill with the laws of conſcience and natural rectitude. "It being his opinion, ſays he, "ſpeaking of the duke of Sully, "that the king might as eaſily "work out his ſalvation in our "religion as in his own, he offered "no great violence to his con"ſcience, in perſuading him to "this change; on the contrary, "it was effectually ſerving the "ſtate, nay, chriſtianity itſelf, "without hurting his reputation." Happily, Henry the great did not adopt the neutral opinions of his miniſter, as he himſelf confeſſed very ſincerely.

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1592. influenced by that ſingle thought of immortalizing his memory, by reſtoring peace, plenty, and ſecurity, to a kingdom waſted with inteſtine diviſions, and of meriting, by the uſe of thoſe abilities he had received from heaven, the glory of giving happineſs to France, after ſhe had begun to deſpair of it, and to look upon her wounds as incurable. I am certain, that this motive was more intereſting than that of his own quiet; which, however, I did not forget: and I obliged Henry tacitly to confeſs, that his ſpirits, after being exhauſted, if I may uſe that term, with war, demanded a ſituation leſs turbulent, and more tranquil.

The ſtrongeſt proof of the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the arguments I uſed upon this occaſion, was, that the king, who poſſeſſed that happy ſagacity of diſtinguiſhing immediately the truth or falſehood of any poſition, confeſſed to me that my diſcourſe had penetrated to the bottom of his heart, which, he added, ſtill reſiſted ſtrangely, but that he believed he ſhould follow no other advice. In effect, at the end of three days he had taken his reſolution, and he now only endeavoured to remove the difficulties which remained. Some of theſe regarded his own opinion; for as ſincerity and rectitude were fixed in his heart, and regulated all his words and actions, I am perſuaded, that there is not any thing which could have prevailed upon him to embrace a religion which he inwardly deſpiſed, or even doubted of. A prince who had never deceived mankind, could have no intention to deceive his God.

The other difficulties related to the leaders of the proteſtant party, whom the bare propoſition of changing his religion would not fail to make revolt, as well through fear, as a point of honour. He aſſembled them, and addreſſing himſelf to the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, which were Meſſieurs de Bouillon, De Sancy, Du Pleſſis, De Salignac,

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Salignac, De Morlas, De Conſtans, and Salettes *; I alſo being preſent. He told them (with an intention to ſound their inclinations) that he had brought them together to know their opinions upon what he had to communicate to them. He ſaid he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne, and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had had an interview with Villeroy and Jeannin, and that it was agreed upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other catholics againſt him; that the time which the catholics had ſo often threatned him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him entirely; their common deſign being now to place the cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the infanta of Spain, and to endeavour by all poſſible methods to rid themſelves of his perſon. That the cardinal, indeed, had expreſſed great reluctance to comply with this laſt propoſition, but, by all appearances, they would ſoon gain his conſent, when they convinced him, that the crown could by no other means be ſecured to him. He conjured them to tell him ſincerely what they thought, he ought to do upon this occaſion, eſpecially upon the deſertion of the catholics, which would reduce his party to the laſt extremity. 1592.

By the noiſe and confuſion this declaration raiſed in the aſſembly, it would ſeem that all thoſe who compoſed it, having never made any reflections upon what might happen, incapable of conducting their deſigns prudently, of keeping one determined object in view, or of preſerving any ſincere attachment to the king, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and

* — Salettes was preſident of the parliament of Pau, and counſellor of ſtate at Navarre. Morlas, his natural ſon, was member of the privy-council, counſellor of ſtate, and ſuperintendant of the magazines of France. They were both converted. Henry IV. when he was informed of the death of Morlas, who was a man of great merit, ſaid, "I have loſt one of the "wiſeſt men in my kingdom." Chron. Novenn. Book vii. p. 545.

profiting

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1592. profiting by their master's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any resolution fit to be approved of. They did not know whether to wish for peace, or continue the war. One said, that there was nothing to be done but to resume their arms, and risque all at one cast. Another was of opinion, that by arresting eight or ten of the principal catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the contrivers of the plot, they might prevent the execution of it. Others more moderate, or perhaps more doubtful, contented themselves with saying, that it would be necessary to accommodate matters by negotiations, without advising how. I took this hint, and by annexing to it some reasonable expedients, carried all the votes for a negotiation. They were not ignorant that I had some influence over the count of Soissons, and that I had free access to the cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often said in public, that although I was a huguenot, there was no person in the world for whom he had so strong an inclination as me. I offered to use my mediation with these two princes, to prevail upon them not to listen to the persuasions of the king's enemies; and the better to ensure success, I promised I would endeavour to gain their dependents and counsellors, especially the abbot de Bellozanne, the Durets, confidents to the count of Soissons, and a lady called madam des Rosieres, an intimate of the cardinal's.

No person opposed this advice, doubtless because the protestants, who had heard the declaration, sensible that they were too weak actually to renew hostilities, thought that at present there was nothing better to be done. The king, on his side, was not sorry at its being unanimously voted by the protestants, that he should address himself to the princes of the blood, and hold a commerce with the catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the abbé de Bellozanne. I knew

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knew that jealousy had made him the secret enemy of the Durets, and believed that by taking him on this side, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having shortly the chief part in all affairs, I should bring him to my purpose. I introduced myself with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the king, for having in his favour so generously opposed the attempt of the Durets, which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his good-will towards the king, which his majesty, although he had but a small acquaintance with him, esteemed as he ought: so that he might expect the most convincing proofs of his affection, which would certainly be the procuring him a cardinal's hat, or, at least, one of the richest benefices in the kingdom, when those rewards were in his power, by his change of religion, which was likely to happen very shortly. 1592.

This introduction, which flattered his vanity extremely, gave me occasion to enter, as if undesignedly, into the secret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be well informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppose them more resolutely. In effect, I had scarce dropped a few words on this subject, when my man, giving way to his inclinations, fell severely upon the Durets, and spoke so much to their disadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuse them falsly. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the bishopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel that zeal for the king's service, which I affected to attribute to him. He endeavoured to persuade me, that he would oppose the violent resolutions of the catholics, whose intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myself for some time, that I had brought over this man to the king; but rogues soon resume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this protestation

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1592. teſtation to me, he made one quite contrary to the cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated all the converſation he had juſt held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the increaſe of favour it procured him, I, on my ſide, perhaps, made better uſe of it for the king, than if he had kept the ſecret: beſides finding means from thence to inform theſe gentlemen of the king's diſpoſition to embrace their religion, which drew them ſecretly towards this prince, Bellozanne's imprudence produced likewiſe another good conſequence, which was the inſpiring them with a deſire of ſupplanting each other in their endeavours to acquire his favour. I willingly therefore pardoned Bellozanne's double knavery, and even drew a third good conſequence from it, with regard to the Durets.

Theſe gentlemen, perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new ſecrets he had diſcloſed to his patrons, and the increaſe of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propoſitions I went afterwards to make them. I told them, the king, offended at the knavery of Bellozanne (which in reality he was, becauſe he had carried it ſo far as to give umbrage to the proteſtants) would have no commerce for the future with a man ſo little to be depended on, and was diſpoſed to make uſe of them in the meaſures he would ſhortly take. I confided ſome papers to their care, the reading of which I was certain would have a wonderful effect. This was the ſcheme for an agreement between the league and Spain, and the anſwer in conſequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I ſhewed to them that moment. This was a mortifying ſtroke for them; they thought themſelves deſpiſed, and the project ſo reaſonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a concluſion without their participation; which to theſe ſort of men ſeems the greateſt of all misfortunes. They heſitated

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tated not a moment in offering me earneſtly their ſervices for the king. The change of religion, which I had alſo inſinuated to them, ſeemed to remove all the oppoſition that could be made to this prince. They were charmed at being employed in a ſcheme, the intention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the duke of Maïenne had propoſed to Spain; or rather there remained no other part for them to take, after the advantage Bellozanne had juſt gained over them. In effect, they kept the ſecret better, and laboured in it to more purpoſe. 1592.

I applied myſelf afterwards to the abbé Du Perron *, who by his character, his fame, and his eloquence, had more power with the cardinal of Bourbon, when he aimed at making him either take or change a reſolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had received ſome favours from me. I concerted my diſcourſe beforehand, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, great ſentiments, and deep reaſoning, had powerful charms †; and I introduced into it as much or more of politics and worldly views as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was preſent at this converſation, when after having ſlided into my diſcourſe ſome mention of the king's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to Du Perron, that except Spain and ſome turbulent perſons in France, it was the intereſt and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the king of Navarre ſhould aſcend the throne, and poſſeſs the kingdom in the ſame extent, and with the ſame power, which had been enjoyed by the kings his predeceſſors.

* James Davy-Du-Perron, afterwards biſhop d'Evreux, and then cardinal: he will be mentioned hereafter.

† The duke of Sully's character of the cardinal Du-Perron ſeems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joſeph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babler, *locutuleius* or *locutu levis*.

I began

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1592. I began with the pope. I told Du Perron, that he who had ſo perfect a knowledge of the court of Rome, knew better than any other perſon, that Clement VIII. now in poſſeſſion of the holy ſee, was neither ſo violent as Sixtus V. nor ſo mutable as Gregory XIV. That the pope conſidered the preſent affairs of Europe and chriſtianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the neceſſary balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, to ſubject France to Spain, becauſe he was not ignorant of any of the views of this laſt power for univerſal monarchy. That the pope would in this find not only his intereſt as common father of the catholics, but alſo his temporal intereſts in particular, becauſe Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter would ſoon follow the deſtiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the pope would be in danger of ſeeing himſelf one day reduced to the quality of chaplain to the kings of Spain. That beſides, his Holineſs had too much judgment not to open his arms to a king, as ſoon as he ſhould expreſs his deſire to be received there, without troubling himſelf about that mighty phraſe a relapſe, with which fools only were affected.

There was ſtill leſs difficulty to be apprehended, with regard to my propoſition, from the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might be at liberty to reſume the converſation upon Spain. I aſked the abbé Du Perron, if he did not agree with me in the opinion, that thoſe deep politicians who gave riſe to all the diſorders in France, began to deſpair of the ſucceſs of the great project they had formed to conquer all France, and this upon the knowledge they had, as well of the king and the proteſtants in his intereſt, as of the French catholics. Could the king of Spain ever ſeriouſly intend to make a Spaniſh province of France, and flatter himſelf that his domination would be endured by a people,

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who had always emulated and hated Spain? Of all this there was already more than bare ſuſpicion. 1592.

By the king of Spain's conduct it was plain, that he imagined the dukes of Maïenne, Guiſe, and Mercœur, ſought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, whom he ſaw make uſe of his troops and money without ſhewing any greater reſpect for him. One convincing proof that theſe were the real ſentiments of Philip was, the propoſitions he had made, and often renewed, to the king of Navarre, by D. Barnardin de Mondoce, Moreau, and the count de Taxis. For, in reality, this prince ſeeing that all he could pretend to from the troubles in France was, at the moſt, the poſſeſſion of two or three of its provinces, it was of little conſequence to him, whether he obtained them from the king or the league. It is true, that if he divided France amongſt the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting it all to himſelf, by ſeparately attacking thoſe petty kings: but that, in effect, he purchaſed theſe hopes at a very high price, by that ſcarcity of troops and money into which the greedineſs of the league had thrown him. And although the king ſhould be able to maintain the war but a ſhort time, Philip perceived that he might be obliged to recal the ſupplies he lent to France, having but ſufficient for himſelf in Flanders, where the war raged more fiercely every day.

Obſerving that Du Perron liſtened to me attentively, and ſeemed to be convinced of the reaſonableneſs of all I ſaid, I did not ſo ſoon quit the ſubject of Spain. I told him it was not probable that ſo many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and cuſtoms, would ever be eaſy under a foreign ſlavery, and reſolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependants upon the grandees of Spain, or at beſt penſionaries of a king, who although

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1592. though he had greater obligations to the prince of Parma than to any other perſon, ſuffered him to hope for no reward of his ſervices till his death: That the whole view of the French lords, by ſeeming to join the king of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profeſſion of the proteſtant religion; after which they would abandon, without any difficulty, that hacknied reproach of a relapſe, as well as the deſign of chuſing a king from amongſt themſelves, the marriage of the infanta, and all the reſt of their idle projects. For a proof of the truth of what I ſaid, I produced the treaty which the league had propoſed to Henry by Villeroy and Jeannin, ſoon after the raiſing of the ſiege of Rouen, which I have not given a full account of in its place, but ſhall lay before the reader immediately. After this, turning ſuddenly towards Du Perron, I aſked him if he was not of the intereſt of all good Frenchmen, and would not be the firſt himſelf to prevent ſuch deſigns from being effected; whether the good of the ſtate required, that by deſtroying in a moment an edifice which had coſt the kings of France ſuch labour to raiſe, and which ſome of them had cemented with their blood, France ſhould be again filled with thoſe little tyrants, ambitious and cruel, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always ready to fly before the firſt enemies that attacked them? And laſtly, if he did not confeſs that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one only head, was the moſt glorious and moſt advantageous of any, and for the French nation in particular?

I cut ſhort my diſcourſe upon this third party of politicians, by obſerving to Du Perron, that one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily happen, either that they would unite themſelves to the league, and ſo deprive it of all aſſiſtance from Spain; or take

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take measures separately from it, which would produce the necessity of destroying, or being destroyed by it. In any of these cases, nothing could happen that would not be for the king's advantage. To conclude with what related to the king himself, I found no difficulty in making the abbé confess, that this prince was absolutely fitted to reign over the French. I represented to him, that his reputation was so well established every where, that the league had great reason to fear, and the third party (whose interest and credit were but very small) still more, that in the provinces, where no one delivered himself up so blindly to the caprice of the league as in Paris, they would put themselves entirely under the protection of this prince, when their intoxication was over, and had given place to that love of rest so natural to those who have suffered a great deal. That the provinces began already to discover their discontent openly; but without that could not the king, brave and experienced as he was, and assisted only by the protestants and foreigners, maintain the war a long time, and guard against domestic attempts upon his person? They had seen him when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a stand against all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with saying, that instead of giving the enemies of France the pleasure of seeing her waste and destroy herself, it was the general interest, to favour and support a prince, who appeared capable of restoring her to her former tranquility, and of raising her to a new degree of splendor. 1592.

The abbé Du Perron had no reply to make to these arguments; he was convinced of their force; and, as I had expected, knew well how to bring over the cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all those which his own penetration suggested to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the persuasive charms of elo-

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1592. quence. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, were employed by him and I in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As ſoon as a negotiation was begun, we had more negotiators than we wiſhed.

It is certain, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before preſented the king with the ſcheme of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowlege him for king. This piece is curious enough to deſerve an abſtract ſhould be given of it. The true ſpirit of the league diſcovered itſelf there plainly. The king's abjuration was at the head, as the firſt and principal condition. They required that in the ſpace of three months he ſhould make a public profeſſion of the catholic religion; that he ſhould reſtore it in all thoſe places from whence the ſuperiority of the reformed had baniſhed it; that he ſhould break off all alliance with them; that they ſhould have no ſhare in the dignities, embaſſies, and employments of ſtate of any kind whatever: in a word, that their continuance in France ſhould be tolerated only, and for a certain time.

Many other articles ſeemed to be inſerted there only to perſuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the ſervice of religion and the ſtate in view. Such were the clauſes of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons; that of holding the ſtates from ſix to ſix years; and many others.

Theſe were all ſpecious conditions, but they added (which was the moſt eſſential point for the authors of the project) That the king ſhould acknowledge, authoriſe, and ſupport the league with all his power: That he ſhould leave a certain number of towns in their hands, without even putting a garriſon into them; the meaning of which was, that he ſhould reign under them: That he ſhould diſtribute all the governments of France amongſt

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ſuch of his principal officers as they ſhould name to him: That he ſhould keep a ſufficient number of troops to maintain the roman-catholic religion there: That he ſhould not diſpoſe of the taxes, impoſts, and other revenues of the crown; but they ſhould be all applied to this uſe, according to a diviſion proportioned to the quality and occaſions of thoſe governments: That all the garriſons which ſhould be put in the fortreſſes of the kingdom ſhould be paid in the ſame manner. The diſtribution of theſe governments was as follows: Provence was to be given to the duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the duke of Joyeuſe, Bourbonnois and Marche to the duke of Elbeuf, Bretagne to the duke of Mercœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to D'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Iſle of France to the baron of Roſne, Orleanois and Berry to La Chatre, Picardy to the duke of Aumale, Champaigne to the duke of Guiſe, with the poſt of high ſteward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed. 1592.

The duke of Maïenne had, with reaſon, the largeſt ſhare. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, they added thoſe of Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois; and in all theſe provinces gave him a power that hardly left the king the ſhadow of any authority: the right of diſpoſing, as he pleaſed, of governments, lord-lieutenancies, and other employments, not only in the army, but alſo in the finances, and courts of judicature; and what was ſtill more, the nomination to eccleſiaſtical dignities and benefices: and to all theſe extraordinary advantages, they added the poſt of conſtable, or lieutenant general of the crown. It was this only that ſeemed worthy of the duke of Maïenne's acceptance. They likewiſe kept in reſerve four marechals batons *, and the

* Theſe four marechals batons were given the following year to Roſne, La Châtre, Bois-Dauphin, and Saint-Pol, each of whom

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1592. league, at their own leiſure, were to name the perſons on whom they were to be beſtowed; beſides very conſiderable penſions to the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them, they carried their violence ſo far as to lay the king under an obligation of clearing the debts of ſome conſiderable perſons of their party whom they ſhould name, to the number of twenty. And, to conclude, with abſolutely tying up his hands, they added, that he ſhould allow the league to chuſe the foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and be guarantees for its execution. The pope's name only was expreſſed; doubtleſs, the blanks were to be filled up with the king of Spain amongſt the reſt. By this they too plainly acknowledged the views of the Spaniards. Charles V. required nothing elſe than ſuch a ſcheme when he ſaid, that he had been falſely accuſed of hating a king of France, ſince inſtead of one he wiſhed there had been twenty.

No perſon believed that the league, by treating with the king on conditions ſo injurious to this prince, could perſuade themſelves that he would ſubmit to them. It was more than probable therefore, that they did it in order to make his refuſal give diſguſt to the dregs of the people. The king likewiſe, far from treating theſe propoſals as a ſerious matter, or anſwering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it poſſible to have come to any accommodation, ſacrificed them immediately to the proteſtants, who gave this treaty all the epithets it deſerved; it even turned the catholics againſt the author; for theſe catholics finding that all there was badly deſigned; that it was full of articles which, being only ſnares, would prove an inexhauſtable ſource of difficulties; and that there were ſome which it was impoſſible to

will be mentioned hereafter. On this occaſion there is a *bon mot* related of Chanvalon. Sir, ſaid he one day to the duke of Maienne, you have made baſtards, which will be legitimated at your expence.

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execute, they took no notice of what made the strongest impression upon them, which was, that by the distribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them. 1593.

The king making no other use of these propositions than to bind those who served him more closely to his interests, gave a very short and cool answer to the president Jeannin. It was at the camp before Caudebec. There is no necessity to repeat the contents.

Civil wars, especially those wherein religion has a share, give a freedom and boldness which on any other occasions would be very surprizing. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, answered in writing, which he addressed to the king himself, That he was greatly astonished at his behaviour towards him: That if his project was well considered, he would find that he had not yet stipulated for sufficient advantages for the league: That the only fear he had when he drew it up was, that it would be disavowed, especially by the duke of Nemours, who, instead of a government, had already formed a principality for himself in Lionnois, with the approbation of the king of Spain: And he had still more reason to believe the duke of Maïenne would be displeased at it, whose interests had been too much neglected in this treaty (certainly this moderation of Jeannin's was truly admirable:) That, in his opinion, he had shewn the king his readiness to serve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a security for the performance of his word (as if those which were to be bestowed upon the governors did not answer the same purpose:) That, to please the king, he had eluded the question, of making those governments hereditary. This indeed was true, but after the privileges he had invested them with, would it be difficult for them to seize this also?

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1593. Jeannin afterwards obſerved to the king, with great freedom, or rather an exceſs of inſolence, that the catholics having with juſtice taken arms againſt him, he ought not make uſe of the words crime, and abolition; for they were entitled to treat with him upon the foot of an equal, becauſe they did not look upon themſelves as enemies ſubdued, nor him as king, while the cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged king in France, was alive; nor even after his death could he claim that title, on account of his religion; therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince: that, for the ſame reaſon, the king's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted to a king by his ſubjects, but an amicable contract with a people, who freely choſe a king after the reaſons for refuſing him were removed. Many other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deſerve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by abſolutely rejecting all aſſiſtance from meſſieurs De Bouillon, Du Pleſſis, and the other proteſtants whom the king had mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no intercourſe with them.

While the king deliberated upon what reſolutions he ſhould take, the States were held at Paris *. The hint of aſſembling them came from the prince of Parma; and it muſt be confeſſed, that by the methods he purſued there, in order to accompliſh his deſigns, a reſolution more dangerous for the king's cauſe need not have been taken. This general intended to have ſummoned them at Rheims, and to have renewed all his endeavours to make

* The States were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpoſe. All the ſpeeches, acts, and ceremonies of this aſſembly, may be found in many of the hiſtorians, ſee particularly De Thou, Book cv. Davila, B. xiii. Memoirs of the league, Vol. V. Villeroy, Mem. of State, Vol. IV. Mem. of Nevers, Vol. II. Matthieu, Vol. II. Chron. Novenn. for the year 1593. B. v. Satyre Menipée, &c.

himſelf

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himself master of the deliberations within; while, with a superior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he persuaded himself that he should obtain an election entirely agreeable to the king of Spain, and cause the elected monarch to be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep politics *: quick dispatch, great liberality, a well-chosen opportunity, and, above all, an army capable of inspiring awe, these were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an issue, and of excluding the king for ever from them. But the prince of Parma dying just as he was upon the point of executing these projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted neither with order, diligence, nor other necessary measures. It is true, that the count of Mansfield, who succeeded him, came at last with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the same submission was not made to Spain, as had been before they had entertained hopes of seeing the king abjure calvanism; and the count of Mansfield returned without having done any thing; besides, there was now an alteration in a circumstance, which to the prince of Parma had always appeared of great consequence; this was, that instead of getting the states assembled at Rheims, the duke of Maïenne had prevailed upon the pope and the Spanish plenipotentiaries, who were Don Diego d'Ibarra, the duke of Feria †, Inigo de Mandoce, and count John-Baptist de Taxis, to consent that they should be assembled at Paris. Each of these persons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their interests by their alliances, their intrigues, and their presents, they might practise a thousand artifices to engage all the suffrages for themselves; but when this 1593.

* See the duke of Parma's letter on this subject to the king of Spain, Chron. Novenn. Book iv. fol. 5.

† Laurent. Saurès de Figueroa y Cordua, duke of Feria.

1593. great disorderly body was assembled, they found themselves crossed by so many and such different interests, that the Spaniards having only their own voices, like the rest, and destitute besides of the means of making them be heard by force, found that they should meet with more obstacles than they had foreseen; and from that time they feared, that they should draw no other advantage from all their intrigues and secret practices, than the embroiling affairs some time longer; till this entanglement of so many different views, and the impossibility of ever uniting them, would at length oblige them to obey the dictates of reason.

How would they be able to bring the pope into their measures, or rather his legates, who had each his particular design, the king of Spain, the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, the dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guise, in fine, the princes of the blood, who had also their different designs *, of which they were no less tenacious? All those factions, when the states were opened, reflecting that this was the last effort of the party, had recourse to a thousand stratagems which destroyed each other, and according to the notion of what is called policy, involved and concealed themselves under false measures to bring others to the purpose they desired. To the great number of counsels already so perplexing, they added a flux and reflux of opinions, which formed a maze where no person knew where he was. No one declared his sentiments at first, but seemed to speak only to hide his emulation, and to make his real designs be guessed at.

The Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their usual maxim, and the particular cast of their nation; or perhaps their design was

* "The league was of this advantage to France," says Le Grain, "that every one was willing to command in it, and none to obey."

to

to ſound the inclinations of the French, to diſcover if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of loſing what they had been ſo long aiming at, they at laſt made the moſt reaſonable propoſition in their power, which was the marriage of the infanta * with the cardinal of Bourbon. All the French nobles, with the Guiſes at their head, waited only for this ſtep of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common deſign, which was, to make uſe of this propoſal to kindle between the king and cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and conſequently between the king and the leaders of the contrary party, the count of Soiſſons, the duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They ſuffered this propoſition to be carried ſo far, as to have the articles drawn up and ſent by Bellozanne to the cardinal; but the nobles afterwards uniting, knew how to put a ſtop to it, which they did, with a deſign that may be eaſily penetrated into, in order that what theſe lords took away from the cardinal and the princes of the blood might fall into their 1593.

* Clara Eugenia of Auſtria, ſecond daughter of Philip II. of Spain. Catherine, the eldeſt, was married to the duke of Savoy, but not till after the cardinal of Placentia, legate, and cardinal de Pelevé, had endeavoured, in vain, to bring France under ſubjection to Spain, by the marriage of this infanta with prince Erneſt of Auſtria, the eldeſt of the emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate impute to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain loſt the crown of France, their not ſuffering this infanta, the future queen, to come to France, unleſs the prince whom they deſtined for her huſband was declared and acknowledged; but I doubt whether the arrival of this princeſs at Paris would have removed all obſtacles. According to De Thou, the duke of Guiſe's party was ſo powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the duke of Maïenne, ſecretly oppoſed him, and the king of Navarre declared very ſeaſonably his reſolution to embrace the catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared king. "The duke of Guiſe," ſays father de Chalons, after Mathieu, Hiſtory of France, Vol. III. p. 257. "was praiſed for the "moderation he diſcovered on this "occaſion. He gave no indica-"tions of his having flattered "himſelf with ſuch agreeable "hopes, nor ſhewed any ſollici-"tude for ſo great a fortune."

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1593. own power, as the princes of the blood: by seeming to resign their hopes in favour of the cardinal, they had an oblique view towards themselves; which shewed them, that after him the crown would more easily revert to them, than if a foreigner had first possessed it. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the princes of Lorrain, and, one may easily imagine, never forgave them.

This common interest of the nobles, which united them against Spain and the princes of the blood, divided them afterwards into as many factions as there were persons. Each thought himself most worthy of the diadem. Jealousy and malice soon actuated the whole party to such a degree, that each disputed for the crown, for the sole pleasure of hindering another from obtaining it. Some of these parties objected to one person only, and comforted himself for not being able to succeed in his own designs, if he could overthrow his. Of this class was the clergy, which, without naming any person for the throne, used only their utmost endeavours to hinder the king of Navarre from being elected. Another undertook to supplant two, three, or more of the competitors: but there was not one from any of these motives who was capable of forming a party so much superior to the others, as to bear down all its opposers. The people, although generally the slaves of prejudice to one particular candidate, were here, by the number of them, hindered from determining. And upon this occasion it happened, as has been often experienced, that adopting the style of that sort of indifferent and neutral persons who are always to be found in public assemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere shew, and caused only laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected.

But these intrigues, this play of falshoods, could not last long; in such sort of debates, the first reso-

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reſolutions, and the firſt motions, are ſuggeſted by the paſſions. If by a concurrence of cauſes they are prevented from ſucceeding, reaſon, though it ſlowly appears in tumultuous aſſemblies, yet forces itſelf at laſt to be ſeen and acknowledged, and after long oppoſition is followed through neceſſity. The firſt thing that was done on this occaſion was by means of the parliament, which weighing deliberately the different propoſals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spaniſh king, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlaſting reproach to them, to ſuffer a law ſo fundamental as the hereditary right of ſucceſſion to be infringed, and began, without knowing what would be the conſequence, by granting an edict * which forbad the carrying the crown out of the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one whoſe mind had not ſuggeſted it to him, and who was not conſcious of the injuſtice of acting contrary to it. 1593.

The claims of royal family began to appear ſacred to a thouſand perſons, who a moment before had not reflected on them. Spain, whoſe attempt was fruſtrated by this edict, might have ſtill warded off the blow, had ſhe united with the Lorrains, whom it equally ſtruck at; but the more ſhe thought ſhe was entitled to depend upon their

* The edict was paſſed the 28th of June. "This action," ſays Villeroi, Vol. II. page 58, "was "the more applauded by all good "men, as the danger that attend-"ed it was ſo great; it was cer-"tainly of great uſe, and I muſt "ſay, that the kingdom owed its "ſafety to the courts." John Le Maitre, altho' made preſident of the parliament of the league by the duke of Maienne, the preſident Edward Molé, the councellors William Du-Vair, afterwards keeper of the ſeals, Stephen Fleury, Peter D'Amours, LazarusCoqueley, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict: in conſequence of it, the preſident Le Maitre, with the counſellors De Fleury and D'Amours, were deputed that ſame day, to make remonſtrances to the duke of Maienne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the archbiſhop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a paſſion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the preſident Le Maitre ſilenced him with great authority and dignity. See Vol. IX. of the Memoirs of the league. Memoirs of Nevers, Vol. II. p. 635.

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1593. ſuffrages, the more irreconcileable was her enmity toward them, when ſhe found they had betrayed her. They made her no offers, and their conſtant miſunderſtanding inſenſibly paved the way for the victory of their common adverſary.

To accompliſh this, there remained but one ſtep to be taken, which was prevented by the ſtrong oppoſition of the clergy *. A ſtop therefore was put to the affair for ſome time: they reſumed, as if for amuſement, ſome of their former worn-out projects. Different hopes were again raiſed to be ſoon and effectually extinguiſhed; for there was not one perſon who did not tacitly confeſs, that if the king † abjured calviniſm, all conteſt would be at an end. Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themſelves to it, not ſlightly as before, but from a more clear and diſtinct view of the true intereſt of the ſtate: a view which from this moment became that of the parliament, and the whole people, and which met with no more oppoſition, but what ſome nobles for their perſonal intereſt were pleaſed to give to it.

The dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, and Mercœur, were the moſt difficult to be perſuaded into theſe meaſures, as was moſt natural, conſidering that they, of all others, had flattered themſelves with hopes of the greateſt advantages: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a con-

* All the Memoirs of theſe times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the cardinal de Pleſance legate, and of almoſt all the biſhops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne. "*Débourbonnez-nous, Seigneur,*" was the explication a preacher gave of theſe words of ſcripture, *Eripe me, Domine, de luto fæcis.* There are an infinite number of ſuch circumſtances, the malignity of which cannot ſurely be excuſed by zeal for the true religion. De Thou obſerves, that the clergy was the only one of the three eſtates that perſiſted in voting for a war.

† It is clear at this time, that Henry IV. was not only the lawful heir to the crown, that was never diſputed, but alſo that in his perſon the three races of our kings were united. See a proof in a new work entituled, Genealogical hiſtories of all the ſovereign families, in the 22d genealogical table.

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ference with the king from being propoſed, and paſſed by a plurality of voices in the ſtates. It was, however, in their power to deſtroy or ſuſpend the effect, and they did not fail to do ſo: for this purpoſe they uſed their utmoſt endeavours; they ſet their emiſſaries to work, took advantage of the king's * bad fortune at Selles, cauſed Manſfield to advance, who took Noyon, gave all the force they were able to the pope's refuſing to allow the cardinal de Gondy †, and the marquis de Piſany, whom the king had ſent to him, to enter Rome, or any of his holineſs's territories. Could they flatter themſelves, that the irregularity of theſe proceedings would not be commented upon, after having ſo often proteſted, that in all their actions they had only the intereſt of religion in view, and that they were ready to ſubmit to Henry as ſoon as he ſhould quit his erroneous opinions. No perſon was deceived; and although they prevented all the conſequences which the conference held at Surêne, in the month of April ‡, might have produced, it was thought the laſt effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the king, after having conſented that no proteſtant deputy ſhould appear at that conference, had not yet entirely complied, it was becauſe the leaguers raiſed more difficulties about temporal, than the king about ſpiritual matters. The people, eſpecially, were diſpoſed to do him juſtice, and the ſweets of a 1593.

* The journey which Henry IV. took towards Tours, and the neceſſity to which he reduced himſelf of raiſing the ſiege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought very conſiderable faults.

† Peter de Gondy, biſhop of Paris. John de Vivonne marquis of Piſany.

‡ In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See in the records, Vol. 8889 of MSS. in the royal library. Villeroy's Mem. of ſtate, Vol. IV. Matthieu and Cayet, ibid. &c. The archbiſhop of Bourges, who pleaded the king's cauſe, maintained that obedience is due to pagan princes, and ſupported this aſſertion by the authority of St. Paul, the privileges of the Gallic church, and by many other unanſwerable proofs. Weak as the arguments alledged by the archbiſhop of Lyons to the contrary were, they carried their point in this conference.

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1593. truce, which was the only benefit resulting from his conference, drew them entirely into his interests. But I now return more particularly to this prince.

He made Mante the place of his constant residence, where all his prudence was scarce sufficient to keep a party, composed of persons so opposite in their sentiments, together. He had been alarmed, at first, with the convention of the states; and with so much the more reason, as the first thought which suggested itself to his mind on that occasion, was, that an assembly, in appearance so august and respectable, would soon find a remedy for the disorders of the state. Under this apprehension, the king began to flatter the catholics more than usual; and, as we have just seen, made some efforts to gain the pope, to the end that he might not extinguish in both parties the only hope that could hinder them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be easily imagined, that this could not be done without awakening the discontent of the huguenots. But the king by his wisdom was beforehand with them, and it appeared, that nothing was done but in consequence of that general council of the protestants, of which we have already seen that the result has been to turn every thing into art and negotiation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the king found reason to fear that they would carry things to extremity against him, he knew how to appease them by some new military expedition, which he likewise engaged in, to convince the people still more, that a prince, who, by his kind and gracious behaviour, appeared so deserving of their love, was, by his valour and abilities in war, no less worthy of their obedience.

As soon as he was informed of the disunion that raged in the states, the confusion and opposition that every word gave rise to, he looked upon this assembly to be the happy means by which his designs

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ſigns would be accompliſhed, and all his perplexity now was the regulating his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as ſoon as it was propoſed in the ſtates to treat with him. This prince would at that time have met with no obſtacle to retard his gaining poſſeſſion of the crown, if he had appeared willing to ſatisfy the exceſſive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was reſolved that poſterity ſhould never reproach him with his having owed the royal dignity to his meanneſs in ſubmitting to the rapaciouſneſs and caprice of his ſubjects. That he was thus able to reſiſt his natural inclination and ardor to aſcend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being worthy of it. 1593.

I ought here to do juſtice to ſome of them (the number indeed is not very great) but I am well aſſured that * Meſſieurs de Belliévre, de Belin and Zamet, had no view to their own intereſts in thoſe applications which they made to the king. Some others there might be who behaved in the ſame manner, but of them I cannot ſpeak with any certainty. As to the reſt, I ſhall content myſelf with naming the principal agents deputed to the king, as well by the league and the ſtates, as by the clergy and French nobility. I ſhall not repeat names already mentioned, but add to them only the cardinal De Gondy, the marechals D'Aumont and De Bouillon, the admiral De Biron, meſſieurs D'O, De Vitry, De Lux, Du Pleſſis, La Verriere, De Fleury, and the abbé De Cheſy. A great many others remained undiſtinguiſhed in this croud, although there was not one amongſt them, who was not perſuaded in his own mind, that he ſhould be one day mentioned in hiſtory, as the perſon who had brought affairs to a concluſion. I once counted

* Pomponne de Bellievre. Francis de Foudoas d'Averton. Sebaſtian Zamet.

over

1593. over to the king, by their names, above a hundred of these persons. These that remained would make a very fine figure here, if one could for a moment only open and display the hearts of these ardent counsellors. Vanity, the desire of favour, self-interest, vile artifice, jealousy, knavery, and treachery, would be all one would discover there.

There were some, who till the last moment did not quit their disguise, by which they abused the privilege of conferring with this prince, in order to betray him more securely, and to spread snares for him, which any other could not have escaped. It is with regret, that I name Villeroy * and Jeannin here, but the fact is too well known, and the confusion they were afterwards in, when the king publicly reproached them with it at Fontainbleau, is a full conviction of it, as well as the interested

* In the first volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of State, which consists only of a justification of this secretary's conduct, he candidly confesses that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV. if he had not beforehand taken all the necessary measures for the security of the catholic religion. He confesses also, with the same sincerity, his connections with the league and Spain, and the political principle which he had espoused, that in making peace, it was most advantageous for the king to separate him from the interest of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accusations, he defends himself with great force: He protested, that he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the states or any other councils, were sincerely meant for the king's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this subject some pages above, and what is said in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the duke of Sully here mentions, and which is the heaviest article against Villeroy, he is fully justified in Matthieu, Vol. II. p. 153, and following, Chron. Novenn. Book v. fol. 229, and some other historians, that it must be confessed, that this is an error in our Memoirs. According to these historians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was also absolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV. showed him this writing at Fontainebleau, and charged him to remonstrate the baseness of such a proceeding to the duke of Maïenne, whom Villeroy was at that time, by the king's command, honestly endeavouring to separate from the league. But it is still more certain that Villeroy reproaching the duke of Maïenne with this criminal design, Maïenne answered him in these words, "I would neither tell you, "nor the president Jeannin of "this oath, because I promised "the Spaniards and the league to "the contrary, and was not ignorant that you would never be "brought to approve of such a "remedy." Matthieu, p. 155.

conduct

conduct Villeroy afterwards obſerved. Two days only before the king's abjuration, theſe gentlemen procured a ſecret aſſembly to be held, compoſed of the pope's, and the king of Spain's miniſters, and the chief partiſans of the league, either in perſon, or by proxy, for the dukes of Nemours and Mercœur, men then abſent. In this aſſembly, the legate made them all ſwear, upon the croſs, the evangeliſts, and even the hoſt, to maintain the league, till they ſaw, upon the throne of France, a king agreeable to Spain, and, above all, never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for ſuch, though he ſhould, to the claim his birth gave him, add that of a ſincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, ſigned by the whole aſſembly, was incloſed in a packet, and ſent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the cardinal of Placentia to ſome members of parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the king's ſoldiers, that we came to the knowledge of this oath. In this manner did they ſport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumſtance, though anticipated, ſeems to me not improperly mentioned here. 1593.

Amongſt that croud of negotiators and counſellors there were many who imagined they could deceive the king, while in reality they deceived themſelves. The king let them remain in this opinion, not to perſuade theſe ſchemers, but the people, that he might be eaſily brought to the point they wiſhed. This I had from the king himſelf. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he ſent Feret, his ſecretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned to me, that he was under a neceſſity of uſing this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converſe with me, that he might not give diſguſt to the catholics, and the proteſtants likewiſe, who hated me ſtill more, perhaps, through

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1593. jealousy, than the former did through a natural aversion. After complaining of this restraint in terms very obliging to me, he talked to me of those affairs which were at present upon the carpet, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to obtain each separately the honour of the decision. I had said before, and it had been repeated to the king, that I was afraid his easy disposition would make him give up more than he ought to do. But the manner in which this prince represented to me the state of affairs, painted the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. I was surprised at that justness of penetration with which he immediately discerned truth amidst the shades that obscured it. Nor was I less charmed, when submitting his knowledge to mine, he insisted upon my prescribing to him the manner in which he should finish an affair which, to confess the truth, was not without danger till the last moment. I endeavoured to excuse myself from accepting this honour, but all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my resolution: It was during this conversation that the king first mentioned to me his design of entrusting his finances to my care.

After three days deep reflection, I waited upon the king with the same secrecy as before. I did not approve of any of those schemes which had been recommended to him, and which differed only in the proportion of those rewards which were to be granted to the members of the league, and other interested persons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a conclusion, which I supported with the following reasons: That the king was freed from that only fear which could induce him to put a precipitate end to the present negotiations, by which I meant the fear that all these competitors for royalty should unite resolutely in favour of one particular person, because the misunderstanding which had already risen amongst the princes,

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princes, the nobles, and the Spaniſh miniſters, gaining ſtrength every day, we might expect to ſee them ſoon deſtroy each others pretenſions. From whence it muſt neceſſarily happen, that thoſe who were diſintereſted, and had right intentions, would bind themſelves more cloſely to the king's party: That this effect was already indiſputable, with regard to thoſe cities of France which were at too great a diſtance from the league, and the cabal, to be influenced by the eagerneſs and warmth which actuated them: That the heads of the league themſelves, through hatred, jealouſy, or even a conſideration of their own intereſt, would, one after the other, throw themſelves into the king's party: That the bare hopes only which this prince would ſuffer them to entertain, would give him before hand moſt of thoſe advantages he could gain from the accompliſhment of them, without hazarding any thing: That the dangers of a too precipitate execution were, firſt, an open deſertion of the proteſtants, who were not yet ſufficiently prepared for this change, which might produce the moſt fatal conſequences, ſince the king, not being yet ſecure of all the catholics to oppoſe them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, ſecondly, the neceſſity he laid himſelf under, by throwing himſelf into the arms of the catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they were, which, both for the preſent and the future, was of dangerous conſequence: That it was neceſſary to allow theſe ſchemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a diſtinct form to their demands, by which they would perceive, that they were encroaching upon each other, and they would be obliged voluntarily to reduce their extravagant pretenſions, to agree that by ſetting too high a value upon ſlight ſervices they would put it out of the king's power to ſatisfy them, and at length to ſeek their own intereſt in the general intereſt of the ſtate. I told the king, that he would find the firſt who 1593.

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1593. took this ſtep, would be thoſe, who, having only been influenced by the foreign powers to demand rewards which they were perhaps deſirous of ſharing with them, would begin to be ſenſible of the injuſtice of their proceedings in proportion as their hatred of thoſe foreigners increaſed: and that thoſe very foreigners, finding the king ſo ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would prevail upon others to aſk for what they did not believe they could obtain for themſelves.

I ſhewed the king, that whatever change ſhould happen in his affairs, it could not be ſo ſudden, but he would have it in his power to prevent it, ſince the ſpeaking a few words only would anſwer that purpoſe; whereas, by gaining time, he would diſcover all their deſigns; and ſecretly breaking thoſe connections between them, all that remained to put an abſolute end to the treaty, would be to beſtow rewards upon thoſe who had a right to demand them. To bring affairs happily to this end, I ſaw nothing better to be done, than for the king to perſiſt in that conduct he had hitherto obſerved. To receive every one kindly, promiſe little, ſeem deſirous of bringing matters to a concluſion, aſcribe always the fault of delays to obſtacles, and earneſtly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little perplexed. It is well known that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this laſt, as much a foe to inaction and ſloth as the other, engages in nothing without having firſt conſulted judgment upon it; while in the practice they are almoſt always confounded.

In theſe arguments which I made uſe of to the king, his ſuppoſed converſion was always the foundation I built upon; and his majeſty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to underſtand, that he would not be ſtopped by that formality. I added only one thing more, which was, that he would not

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not suffer this negotiation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adversaries did, but join some military expedition to it. Having many other reasons to add, I offered the king to give them to him in writing. His majesty replied, there was no occasion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have to say to him; and that when he had more leisure, he would discourse with me upon a system, by which it seemed to him, that after having united himself to the catholics, it would not be impossible to reconcile them to the protestants. 1593.

That this resolution might be fully executed, the king, at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference of Surêne, caused others wholly upon the subject of religion *, to be held between the catholic priests, and the protestant clergy, at which he was always present; and, on the other hand, made preparations for opening the campaign, in the month of April, by some action of importance, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with a design to continue in earnest a war, which for want of money he was unable to support.

This designed expedition was the siege of Dreux, for which the king borrowed a large sum of money from the city of Mante; and leaving that place about the beginning of April, came to pass the river of Eure at Serisy, while I on my side assembled, and led the necessary artillery. The admiral de Biron †, by the king's order, invested the city, which made little resistance: all the difficulty lay in taking the castle, and especially the tower Grise, which was impenetrable to the cannon. I promised the king to carry it, if he would give me four English and Scots miners, and a certain number of workmen. My enterprise did not

* At La Villette, at Pontoise, at Mante, and elsewhere.

† Charles de Gontaut, son to the marechal, to whom the king gave the title of admiral.

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1593. fail to furniſh matter for laughter and contempt to my enemies, who eagerly ſeized this occaſion to mortify me. The king, though very doubtful of my ſucceſs, granted my requeſt. I led my miners and pioneers to the foot of the tower, where to guard them againſt the fire, and efforts of the beſieged, I covered them with mantelets, and ſtrong pieces of wood, and made them apply ſo cloſely, and with ſuch eagerneſs to the work, that out of ſix and thirty pioneers, which was my whole number, four only could labour at a time: the exceſſive hardneſs of the ſtone exhauſted their ſtrength, and covered them with ſweat the inſtant they began to work, but I cauſed them to be relieved immediately by four others; ſo that the work was not diſcontinued for one moment, although the enemies within endeavoured to deſtroy them, by throwing down large pieces of ſtone, and firing inceſſantly upon them.

When I found that, notwithſtanding this vigorous defence, I had the very firſt day made an opening five feet in height, three in width, and four in depth, I believed the ſucceſs infallible. Six days were conſumed in this work. I encloſed three or four hundred pounds of excellent powder, in ſeveral cavities of ſix or ſeven feet ſquare, in the thickeſt part of the wall, which I ſhut up with ſtrong ſtones cemented together with plaiſter, leaving a paſſage only for two large fauciſſes of dry hides filled with good powder, the end of which reached to the powder within, and joined on the outſide of the tower a train to which the fire was to be put. The duke of Montpenſier, deſirous of ſeeing the diſpoſition of this machine, received a muſket ſhot there in his face. Every one waited impatiently for my confuſion, which was all the reſult expected from this great work. And when they were informed of the time when I was to ſet fire to it, they eagerly aſſembled to behold the effect, which was not indeed immediate: for at firſt a low ſound

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found was heard, accompanied with a thick ſmoke, during which a thouſand contemptuous glances were caſt upon me, and I was forced to endure as many ſtrokes of raillery upon my mine; but I ſoon had my revenge. A few minutes after, a thick cloud of ſmoke roſe as high as the tower, and, at the ſame inſtant, we ſaw it divide exactly into two parts, one of which fell, dragging men, women, and children with it, who were buried under its ruins. The other part continued ſtill ſtanding, but in ſuch a condition, that we could behold under its uncovered roof all thoſe that were within, who, terrified and aſtoniſhed at ſuch an horrible accident, and at our ſoldiers firing immediately upon them, ſent forth moſt lamentable cries. The king, moved with compaſſion, ordered the fire to ceaſe, and ſending for thoſe miſerable objects, gave a crown to each of them. The caſtle inſtantly ſurrendered, and this once I was ſure, that the government of a city, taken almoſt wholly by my means, would not be refuſed me. But D'O enjoyed the triumph of gaining it from me, and I yielded it to him, after the king had repreſented to me, that the terms he was upon with the catholic party made it impolitic to diſoblige them on ſo ſlight an occaſion. 1593.

The king ſtopped only to perform a few more ſuch little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to reſume his conferences. This alternate ſucceſſion of war, and debates, laſted all the time that the ſtates continued to be held, and even till the day that the king abjured the proteſtant religion. I ſhould betray the cauſe of truth, if I ſuffered it to be even ſuſpected, that policy, the threats of the catholics, the fatigue of labour, the deſire of reſt, and of freeing himſelf from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, tho' highly laudable in itſelf, had entirely influenced the king's laſt reſolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which

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1593. I believe I know better than any other perſon, it was indeed theſe conſiderations which firſt hinted to him the neceſſity of his converſion; and I confeſs that I myſelf ſuggeſted no others to him, fully perſuaded, as I have always been, although a calviniſt, from what I have gathered from the moſt learned of the proteſtant clergy, that God is no leſs honoured in the catholic, than in the proteſtant church. But at length the king was fully convinced that the catholic faith was the ſecureſt. That native candour and ſincerity which I always obſerved in this prince, perſuades me, that he would not have been able, during all the remainder of his life, to carry on ſuch a fallacy.

The confeſſion I make here ought not to be judged harſhly of. It is not ſurpriſing that Henry, who never heard any arguments about religion, but in theſe conferences, and continual controverſies *, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be drawn on that ſide, which they took care to make always victorious. For it muſt be obſerved as an effect of the king's prudent delays, that every one, even the proteſtants, nay more, the proteſtant clergy who were employed in the conferences, were at laſt thoroughly convinced that the king's change of religion was a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary for the good of the ſtate, for peace, and even for the advantage of both religions; ſo that there was a kind of general combination to draw him to it. The proteſtant clergy either defended themſelves

* All theſe diſcourſes of the cardinals and prelates of France, whether intended to enlighten his underſtanding, or encreaſe his zeal, may be found in the volume of MS. in the king's library, marked 9214.

The ſincerity of his converſion is there proved by the following circumſtances, his reſpect for the pope, the cardinals, and the whole clergy, his ſollicitude for the converſion of the young prince of Condé, his alliance with the pope, by marrying the princeſs of Florence, his endeavours to cultivate a good intelligence between the ſovereign pontif and the queen of England, the marriage of his ſiſter with the duke of Bar, the erection of the hoſpital for ſick, and other buildings, the ſepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places, the ſatisfaction which he ſhewed at the victory gained over the calviniſts by the biſhop of Evreux, &c.

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no longer, or did it so weakly, that their adversaries had always the advantage. 1593.

The abbe du Perron, whose triumph there was complete, was not a man who would lose the fruits of his victory. With that soft and insinuating conversation, that strong and persuasive eloquence, that inexhaustible fund of learning, supported by a wonderful memory, he could neither be overthrown, nor convicted of falshood, but by the help of a whole library; a sort of languishing defence. With princes, the progression from complaisance to flattery is very easy. Some of the protestant clergy, who were most about the king, and whom he consulted upon his difficulties, formally betrayed * their faith; or, by a designed perplexity, flattered that religion which they already looked upon to be their king's.

The leaders of the protestant party were not so easily brought to comply with the present exigency. They were often absolutely untractable. It was in vain to remonstrate to them, that by their obstinacy the king would lose the crown, and that since it was necessary it should be possessed by a catholic prince, it was an advantage to them, that this prince was the same who had so long been affectionately united with them, and upon whose friendship they had all the reason imaginable to depend. They had flattered themselves, that they should see a prince of their own faith upon the throne, and that calvinism should be the established religion in France. They thought it hard to be deprived of this advantage. Self-love in all religions makes such a loss be looked upon as irreparable †.

* D'Aubigné names some of those protestants; he observes also, that the marchioness de Monceaux, the king's mistress, acted the same part, in the hope of becoming queen herself, if Henry should be declared king. Vol. III. book iii. chap. 22.

† "If I follow your advice," replied Henry IV. to a clergyman named La Faye, who addressed him in the name of the protestant party, "there will in a little time "be neither a king or kingdom in "France. It is my desire to give "peace to all my subjects, and "quiet to my own soul; consider

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1593. The king experienced this exceſs of diſcontent, when ſome of the chief cities in the kingdom, that had been ſuffered to groan under the oppreſſion of an infinite number of little tyrants, firſt applied to his majeſty, and deputed the count of Belin to demand of him the freedom of commerce. Henry was either at Mante, or at Vernon, when the count of Belin came to make him this propoſition, which he would not receive but in the preſence of his whole council. There was not a proteſtant there, who appeared willing that he ſhould grant it; and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, it met with equal oppoſition from the catholics, without their being able to aſſign a lawful, or even a plauſible reaſon, for ſuch a conduct. All theſe perſons were perplexed in their debates, and perceived plainly that their opinion would ſignify nothing, yet could not prevail upon themſelves to alter it. The king looking at me that moment, "Monſieur de Roſny," ſaid he to me, "what makes you ſo thoughtful? "Will not you ſpeak your mind abſolutely any "more than the others." I took the word, and was not afraid to declare myſelf againſt all thoſe that had voted, by maintaining, that it was neceſſary not to heſitate a moment in compleating the gaining the people over to the king's intereſts, by an inſtance of kindneſs which he might revoke if they made a bad uſe of it. This advice raiſed a cry of diſapprobation, which I have always regarded as a retaliation for that conſent I had extorted from the council (which has been mentioned before.) The king was obliged to yield to their importunity, and the count of Belin returned without ſucceſs.

Henry, reflecting upon this refuſal, and judging that there wanted but little more of the ſame nature to alienate the people's affections from him, without a poſſibility of regaining them, and to induce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he

"among yourſelves what is moſt "neceſſary for your own ſecurity, "you ſhall always find me ready "to ſatisfy you." Chr. Nov. ibid.

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resolved to defer his abjuration no longer. He was now convinced that there was no probability of his subduing the reluctance of several of the protestants, or of ever obtaining their free consent to this proceeding *; but that it was necessary to act independantly of them, and hazard some murmurs, which would end in nothing. As for the catholics of his party, the king endeavoured only to remove their fears that, looking upon them as persons of whom he was already secure, he would apply himself wholly to the gaining the rest, by bestowing all rewards upon them. He therefore at last declared publicly, that on the 20th of July he would perform his abjuration, and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony. 1593.

This declaration threw the league into confusion, and filled the hearts of the people, and the catholics of the royal party with joy. The protestants, although they had expected it, discovered their discontent by signs, and low murmurs, and did for form's sake all that such a juncture required of them; but they did not go beyond the bounds of obedience. All the ecclesiastics, with Du Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was desirous of a share in this work. Du Perron, for whom I had obtained the bishopric of Evreux, thought he could not shew his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exercising his function of converter upon me. He accosted me with the air of a conqueror, and proposed to me to be present at a ceremony, where he flattered himself he should shine with such powers of reasoning as would dissipate the profoundest darkness. "Sir," replied I, "all I have to do "by being present at your disputes, is to examine "which side produces the strongest and most ef-

* Henry IV. was always sensible, that his abjuration would expose him to great dangers, which made him write in this manner to mademoiselle D'Estrées. "On Sunday I shall take a dangerous leap. "While I am writing to you, I "have a hundred troublesome people about me, which makes me "detest St. Denis as much as you "do Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's letters.

fectual

1593. "fectual arguments. The ſtate of affairs, your "number and your riches, require that yours "ſhould prevail." In effect they did. There was a numerous court at St. Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and ſplendor. I may be diſpenſed with dwelling upon the deſcription of this ceremony here, ſince the catholic hiſtorians * have been ſo prolix upon that ſubject.

I did not imagine I could be of any uſe at this time; therefore kept my ſelf retired as one who had no intereſt in the ſhew that was preparing, when I was viſited by Du Perron, whom the cardinal of Bourbon had ſent to me, to decide a diſpute that had aroſe on occaſion of the terms in which the king's profeſſion of faith ſhould be conceived. The catholic prieſts and doctors loaded him with all the trifles their heads were filled with, and were going to make it a ridiculous, inſtead of a grave and ſolemn compoſition. The proteſtant miniſters, and the king himſelf diſapproved † of the puerilities and trifles with which they had ſtuffed this inſtrument, and it occaſioned debates which had like to have thrown every thing again into confuſion.

I went immediately with Du Perron to the cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of theſe articles of faith which were controverted by the two churches, ſhould be omitted, but that all the reſt ſhould be ſuppreſſed as uſeleſs. The parties approved of this regulation, and the inſtrument ‡ was drawn up in ſuch a manner, that the

* See, beſides the abovementioned hiſtorians, Mezerai, and the volume of MS. marked 8935, in the king's library, where may be found likewiſe the letter written to his holineſs by the king, the commiſſion given to M. du Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender of obedience to the pope, and the king's declaration of the motives on which he was converted, &c.

† "There is no neceſſity to "mention a Requiem," ſaid Henry IV. "I am not dead yet."

‡ See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du Pleſſis Mornay, and Mezerai after him, reproached the king and the catholics, apparently without any cauſe, that this firſt inſtrument which they ſuppreſſed, was however the ſame that was ſent to the pope, as if the king had compoſed, written, and ſigned it with his own hand, but in reality counterfeited, by monking

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king acknowledged there all the roman tenets upon the Holy Scripture, the church, the number and ceremonies of the ſacraments, the ſacrifice of the maſs, tranſubſtantiation, the doctrine of juſtification, the invocation of ſaints, the worſhip of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the ſupremacy and power of the pope *. After which the ſatisfaction was general †. 1593.

ſieur Lomenie. Theſe are his own words; book i. p. 198. book ii. p. 207.

* Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV. acknowledged the pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his converſion, that it was neceſſity and the confuſion of affairs that obliged him to receive abſolution from the prelates of France, rather than from thoſe of the Holy Father. This declaration is recorded in the third volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate, p. 61.

† It was Renauld, or Beaune de Samblançai, archbiſhop of Bourges, who received the king's abjuration; the cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a prieſt, and nine other biſhops, aſſiſted at the ceremony. Henry IV. entering the chapel of St. Denis, the archbiſhop ſaid to him, "Who "are you?" Henry replied, "I "am the king." "What is your "requeſt?" ſaid the archbiſhop, "To be received," ſaid the king, "into the pale of the catholic, a- "poſtolic, and roman church." "Do you deſire it?" added the prelate. "Yes I do deſire it," replied the king. Then kneeling, ſaid, "I proteſt and ſwear in the "preſence of almighty God, to "live and die in the catholic, a- "poſtolic, and roman religion; "to protect and defend it againſt "all its enemies, at the hazard of "my blood and life, renouncing "all hereſies contrary to this ca- "tholic, apoſtolic, and roman "church." He afterwards put this ſame confeſſion in writing, into the hands of the archbiſhop, who preſented him his ring to kiſs, giving him abſolution with a loud voice, during which *Te Deum* was ſung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the hiſtorians, Cayet, book v. p. 222. and following. Matthieu, &c.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VI.

1593. THE ceremony of the king's abjuration was followed by a deputation * of the duke of Nevers to Rome, who, together with the cardinal de Gondy, and the marquis de Piſany, were to offer the pope the ſubmiſſions uſual in ſuch caſes. Although this change was a mortal ſtroke for the league, the Spaniards and the duke of Maïenne ſtill held out; they endeavoured to perſuade their partiſans that there ſtill remained re-

* Clement VIII. refuſed to acknowledge and receive the duke of Nevers as ambaſſador, and would oblige the French biſhops to go and preſent themſelves to the grand inquiſitor, pretending that they had no power to abſolve the king. M. De Thou blames, with as much reaſon, the pope's inflexibility upon this occaſion, as he extols the courage, prudence, and the whole conduct of the duke of Nevers, Book 108. See tom. II. Mem. de Nevers, MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, and in the hiſtorians mentioned above, the particulars of the embaſſies of Nevers and Luxembourg, and the negotiations of father Seraphin Olivari, de la Chaelle, of the abbots Du-Perron and D'Oſſat with the holy father. The pope ſtill deferred a long time an abſolution which he had a great deſire to grant, and received very ill La-Chielle, who preſented to him the letters of Henry IV. Father Seraphin, who was preſent, and plainly perceived that the pope's anger was only feigned, ſaid to him merrily, "Holy "Father, if the devil himſelf was "to come, and aſk an audience "of you, and you had any hopes "of converting him, you could "not in conſcience deny him it." This ſpeech drew a ſmile from his holineſs.

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ſources capable of making it ineffectual; but they ſpoke at that time contrary to their own opinion, and this feigned confidence was only deſigned to obtain greater advantages from the king, before he was ſecurely fixed on the throne. 1593.

This is not a mere conjecture only, at leaſt with regard to the king of Spain, ſince it is certain that he ordered Taxis and Stuniga to offer the king forces ſufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the league and the proteſtant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a ſtrict alliance between the two crowns; and an agreement, that the king ſhould give no aſſiſtance to the rebels in the Low Countries. Philip II. judged of Henry by himſelf, and conſidered his converſion only as the principle of a new political ſyſtem, which made it neceſſary for him to break through his former engagements. It may not perhaps be unuſeful to mention here an obſervation I have made on the conduct of Spain, which is, that although before and after the death of Catherine de Medicis ſhe had put a thouſand different ſprings in motion, changed parties and intereſts as ſhe thought moſt expedient to draw advantages from the diviſions that ſhook this kingdom, the proteſtant party was the only one to which ſhe never made any application: ſhe has often publicly proteſted, that ſhe never had the leaſt intention to gain or ſuffer their alliance. It is by an effect of this very antipathy that the Spaniards have conſtantly refuſed the new religion admiſſion into their ſtates: an antipathy which cannot be attributed to any thing but the republican principles the proteſtants are accuſed of having imbibed. The king being fully convinced, that to ſtifle the ſeeds of ſchiſm in his kingdom, it was neceſſary to give none of the different factions occaſion to boaſt that his power was at their diſpoſal; and that to reduce all parties, he muſt be partial to none; he therefore ſteadily rejected theſe offers from Spain, and thoſe which

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1593. which the duke of Maïenne made him to the ſame purpoſe: but at that very time appeared willing to treat with any of the chiefs or cities of the league which would ſurrender, and reward them in proportion to their readineſs and ſervices: and it was this prudent medium that he was reſolved to perſiſt in. Although he now profeſſed the ſame religion as the league, yet his averſion to the ſpirit which actuated that party, and to the maxims by which they were governed, was not leſſened; the very name only of the league was ſufficient to kindle his anger. The catholic leaguers ſuppoſing that his abjuration authorized them to aboliſh, in thoſe cities which depended upon them, the edicts that were favourable to the huguenots; the king cauſed them to be reſtored; and though in ſome places the leaguers had obtained the conſent even of the huguenots themſelves (determined to purchaſe peace at any price) for this purpoſe, yet the proteſtant party murmuring at it, Henry cancelled all that had been done to that effect *, and ſhewed that it was his deſign to keep the balance even.

The duke of Maïenne, finding that in this laſt ſcheme, which he had believed infallible, he was diſappointed as well as the reſt, placed all his future dependance upon his old friends the Pariſians, and neglected no method by which he might awaken their mutinous diſpoſition. But ſo far was he from ſucceeding in this attempt, that he could not hinder them from diſcovering their joy at what had juſt paſſed at Saint Denis. They talked publicly of peace, and even in his preſence; and he had the mortification to hear a propoſal to ſend deputies to the king to demand a

* The king, on the 12th of December this year, held an aſſembly of the proteſtants at Mante, in which he publicly declared, that his changing his religion ſhould make no alteration in the affairs of the proteſtants. Mém. de la Ligue, tom. 5. And the calviniſts having aſked many things of him, he told them he could not comply with their requeſts, but that he would tolerate them. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 164.

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truce for six months, and they obliged him to give his consent to it. The truce for three months, that had been granted them at Surêne †, had only inspired them with an inclination for a longer one. 1593.

The king gave audience to the deputies in full council. The greatest number of those who composed it, listening to nothing but their jealousy of the duke of Maïenne, whom they feared as a man that had the means in his power of purchasing favour and rewards, were of opinion, that no regard ought to be shewn to this demand of the deputies, because the person who sent them persisted in his revolt against the king, even after his abjuration. Notwithstanding the justice of not confounding the duke of Maïenne with the Parisians, I saw this advice was likely to be followed, and certainly it might have produced some terrible misfortune. I insisted so strongly upon the advantage of letting the people, already recovered from their first terrors, taste the sweetness of a peace which would interest them still more in the king's favour, that this prince declared he would grant the truce they demanded of him, but for the months of August, September, and October, only.

The next day a prodigious concourse of the populace of Paris assembled at St. Denis. The king shewed himself to the people, assisted publicly at mass; wherever he turned his steps the crowd was so great, that it was * sometimes impossible to pierce through them: at the same moment, a million of voices cried, *Long live the king!* Every one returned, charmed with the graceful-

† Or at Villette, situated between Paris and St. Denis, as it is observed in the Memoirs of the league. It is dated the 31st of July, and was published the next day at Paris.

* "They are wild," said Henry, "to see a king." Etoile, ib. In a letter which he wrote to mademoiselle D'Estrées, upon this or some other such occasion, he says, "A pleasant adventure happened "to me at church; an old woman "of 80 years of age, seized me "by the head and kissed me; I "was not the first who laughed at "it; to-morrow you shall sweeten "my mouth." Recueil des lettres d'Henry le Grand.

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1593. neſs of his perſon, his condeſcenſion, and that popular air which was natural to him: "God bleſs him," ſaid they, with tears in their eyes, "and "grant that he may ſoon do the ſame in our "church of Notre Dame in Paris." I obſerved to the king this diſpoſition of the people with regard to him; tender and ſenſible as he was, he could not behold this ſpectacle without a ſtrong emotion.

The Spaniards had now recourſe to their uſual artifices. D'Entragues came to me one morning, and told me, that a Spaniard was juſt arrived at St. Denis, charged with diſpatches of great importance, from Mandoce, who had ordered him to make his applications directly to me, being the only perſon who had any knowledge of the propoſals which he had a long time ago made to the king at Bearn, by Moreau and the viſcount De Chaux. This Spaniard, whoſe name was Ordognès, or Nugnès, had been a domeſtic of D'Entragues, whoſe ſervice he had quitted for that of Mandoce: D'Entragues correſponded, by his means, with the Spaniſh ambaſſador to the league: This is what I learned of this man by the recital, whether true or falſe, that D'Entragues made me. I did not confide much in this Spaniſh emiſſary, and leſs in D'Entragues, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition I was well acquainted with; I received him therefore coldly enough, for I did not doubt but this was all a Spaniſh ſtratagem: but D'Entragues ſeemed ſo affected with my ſuſpicions of his fidelity, and added ſo many aſſurances of the veracity of his Nugnès, that I permitted him to bring him to me that evening. The king, whom I informed of D'Entragues's viſit, had the ſame opinion of it that I had; however, he commanded me to hear what the envoy had to ſay.

D'Entragues did not fail to return at the time appointed, accompanied by the Spaniard, who after ſome vague converſation about the joy there

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was in the court of Spain for the king's abjuration, and a great many proteſtations of kindneſs, which I had no reaſon to believe very ſincere, at length told me, he had a commiſſion to propoſe a marriage between the king and the infanta * of Spain, with ſome other articles, which he declared he had been ordered to explain only to the king, to whom he intreated me to preſent him. Henry being willing to hear him, I told Nugnès, without any ceremony, that ſince he came from ſo ſuſpected a place, he muſt purchaſe the honour of an audience from his majeſty, by ſubmitting to a few precautions that would perhaps be a little mortifying. He thought nothing too hard. I therefore began to ſearch him myſelf, and afterwards cauſed two of my valets de chambre to make a more rigid ſcrutiny about his perſon and cloaths; one of them having been a taylor, acquitted himſelf of this taſk with great exactneſs. When he came into the king's apartment I made him kneel, and held both his hands betwixt mine. He added nothing to the propoſals he had already made me, but talked of the alliance between the two crowns in terms ſo ſpecious and lofty, that the king, who at firſt would hardly liſten to him, could not hinder himſelf from approving of the Spaniard's propoſal, to ſend ſome perſon on whom he could rely, to enquire of Don Bernardin de Mandoce himſelf, if what he had juſt ſaid could be depended on. 1593.

This deputation, which would have the appearance of a myſtery, I could not approve of, and ſtill leſs of the choice his majeſty made of La Varenne for this occaſion, a man remarkably vain †. The king, to whom I diſcovered all my apprehen-

* Clara Eugenia of Auſtria, ſecond daughter of Philip II.

† We ſhall mention him again, in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs; his name is William Fouquet, and he derives the title of La Varenne from the marquiſate of La Varenne in Anjou, which he bought. His firſt employment was that of a cook to the princeſs Catherine, and his chief excellency in it was larding meat. If it be true, that this princeſs met him one day after his preferment, and ſaid to him, "La "Varenne, thou haſt gained more "by carrying my brother's pou-

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1593. sions, thought he should avoid any appearance of an engagement or negotiation with Spain, by giving La Varenne no commissions in writing, and making the regulation of some boundaries upon the frontiers of Spain the pretence for his journey. La Varenne had no sooner received orders to depart, than he boasted of his commission, assumed the ambassador, and represented himself as such to Mandoce; who, on his side, paid him greater honours than he had required. This produced the effect which the Spaniards designed it should. It was for some time believed in England and Germany, that Henry fought to gain the king of Spain's friendship, and to break his alliance with the protestant powers; which might have produced an open rupture, if the king had not taken measures immediately to convince them of the contrary.

The last resource the league now depended upon, and which was the cause that they always protracted an agreement or rupture with the Spaniards, was the horrid resolution of assassinating the king; a resolution with which they knew well how to inspire a small number of determined men, whose heads they had turned with the alluring prospect of great rewards, if they succeeded in their enterprize,

" lets *, than by larding of mine," one may conclude, that the means by which he gained the king's favour were not very honourable. He was first made cloak-bearer to this prince, afterwards counsellor of state, and comptroller-general of the post-office, and always lived in great familiarity with Henry IV. who ennobled him. La Varenne appointed a gentleman to attend his son. " What," said this prince to him, " if thou hadst given thy " son to a gentleman, I should have " understood what you would be " at; but to give a gentleman to " him, is what I cannot compre- " hend." They say likewise that La Varenne having obtained some favour of the king which the chancellor De Bellievre made some difficulty to grant him, La Varenne said to him, " Sir, don't have such a " high opinion of yourself: I would " have you to know, that if my " master was twenty-five years " younger I would not change " places with you." See D'Aubigné, Geneal. de Sainte-Marthe, Mem. de m. le duc d'Angulême, Mem. de Du Plessis, &c. Menagiana. Cayet, ibid. tom. V. p. 276, speaks of the embassy of La Varenne into Spain, in a quite different manner from our Memoirs.

* Porter le poulets, *in French, signifies to carry love-letters: the jest lies in the ambiguity of the word* poulet, *which signifies either a pullet or a girl.*

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and the hopes of meriting a crown of martyrdom if they ſunk under it. Nature itſelf ſo recoils at the reflection, that thoſe who boaſt of being the ſupporters of religion, ſhould ſo impiouſly violate its moſt ſacred injunctions, that this paſſage ought to be blotted from all hiſtories; were it not likewiſe certain, that there is not any ſociety of men, who bear the name of chriſtians, that would ſuffer the imputation of authorizing ſuch a crime; ſuch, indeed, that no body of men, or even any individual, ought to be accuſed of it, without a proof too clear to be conteſted. 1593.

The king had but too * many in thoſe journeys he took from St. Denis to Châlon-ſur-marne, to Fort de Gournai to Brie-comterobert, to Melun, and afterwards to Meulan and Fontainebleau. Upon this article, the monks eſpecially have contracted a ſtain which they will not eaſily efface. Henry, while at Melun, had like to have periſhed by the hand of one of theſe enthuſiaſts, whom the jeſuits and Capuchins every where ſuborned for that purpoſe. Amongſt other informations which were ſent him upon this ſubject, he received advice, that one of theſe villains had ſet out from Lyons, with a reſolution to come thither and aſſaſſinate him. Fortunately, before he left Lyons, he declared his deſign in confeſſion to a prieſt; who, terrified at this frenzy, revealed it to a gentleman of Lyons. This gentleman poſted away immediately to get to Melun before the murderer, and deſcribed him ſo exactly to the king, from the picture the prieſt had drawn of him, that he was known and ſeized amongſt the crowd at Melun, confeſſed his intended crime, and re-

* Cayet. Chron. Novenn. liv. 5. p. 280. ſpeaks more poſitively of thoſe conſpiracies againſt the life of Henry IV. Mariſot ſays, that a Flamand, called Avenius, came to St. Denis with a deſign to ſtab the prince, but obſerving with what devotion he behaved at maſs, he threw himſelf at his feet, and implored his pardon; but afterwards, reſuming his firſt intention, he was broke upon the wheel in the year 1593. Chap. 33.

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1593. ceived punishment for it. The king, ashamed even for his enemies, who by this wickedness discovered the true bent of their dispositions, equally alarmed with all these attempts against his person, and tormented with the precautions he was obliged to take, often complained to me in the most affecting manner of his uneasy situation.

He would not have been unhappy if the behaviour of the catholics in his court had at least compensated for that of the catholics in the league; but the king's abjuration had produced no more change in them than the others, and they thought they were entitled to make him comply with their inclinations in all things. They bore with impatience the king's not breaking off all commerce with his old protestant servants, and openly murmured if he but conversed with any of them, especially with me. The apprehension of my bringing him back to his former religion affected them much less than their suspicions that, in those conversations I had with the king, I should prevail upon him to rectify the abuses in the government, especially the confusion of the finances. Henry, who was not yet in a condition to assert his authority, so far complied with their caprices, as to avoid all private conversation with the huguenots, resumed his conferences upon religion with the catholics only, and continued them at Andresy * and Milly. I took this opportunity to ask the king's permission to go to Bontin, where I had grain to sell to the value of five or six thousand crowns. He granted it, and told me, that at my return he might perhaps be able to form a more exact judgment of the state of his affairs, and that he would then talk farther with me.

* And likewise, at Pontoise, and Fleury, a castle in Gatinois, belonging to Henry Clause, chief-justice in eyre. The Roman catholics who were there, were, according to M. De Thou, messieurs De Schomberg, De Villeroi, De Belin, De Revol, Jeannin, and De Thou himself, who gives us also to understand, that their discourses turned more upon politics than religion.

I came

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I came to Bontin, with my wife, at a time when grain bore a very high price. All the great cities, taking advantage of the truce, haſtened to fill their magazines, whatever might happen, and paid for what they bought with the money which the Spaniards had ſcattered throughout the kingdom. Spaniſh piſtoles were then ſo common, that commerce was generally carried on in that money. 1593.

I had ſcarce ſold half of my grain, when a letter the king wrote to me from Fontainebleau obliged me to return. He had, in my abſence, opened three letters directed to me, from which he could draw no intelligence, becauſe two of them, one of which came from madam De Simiers*, ſiſter to Vitry, and a great friend of admiral Villars; and the other from La Font, were written in cyphers; and all that the third, which came from a man named Deſportes, of Verneuil, contained, was, that he had ſomething to communicate to me relating to the propoſal I made him in my abbey Saint-Taurin of Evreux. The king, rigidly watched by the catholics, could only give me theſe letters, the contents of which I afterwards acquainted him with. Deſportes was the agent employed by the baron De Medavy † to treat of an accommodation with him, and the ſurrender of Verneuil. The letter from madam De Simiers, and that from La Font, turned only upon ſome favourable circumſtances which now preſented themſelves, to engage Villars in the king's intereſt. But affairs ſoon took another turn with regard to him; the loſs of Feſcamp ‡ ſo affected this governor, that for this time he broke off all meaſures towards an accommodation. I was informed of it by letters

* Louiſa De l'Hôpital-Vitry, wife to James Simiers, chief groom of the ſtole to the duke of Alençon.

† Peter Rouxel, baron of Médavy, count of Grancey, lieutenant-general in Normandy, and counſellor of ſtate, died in 1617. He was remarkable for an uncommon ſtrength of body.

‡ A port and fortreſs in the country of Caux.

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1593. from madam De Simiers and La-Font, in anſwer to mine, at the very moment when, by the king's command, I was preparing to go and confirm Villars in his good reſolutions.

The manner in which Feſcamp was ſurpriſed is ſo remarkable that it well deſerves a particular recital here. When this fort was taken by Byron from the league, in the garriſon that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman, called Bois-roſé *, a man of ſenſe and courage, who making an exact obſervation of the place he left, and having concerted his ſcheme, contrived to get two ſoldiers, whom he had bound to his intereſt, to be received into the new garriſon which was put into Feſcamp by the royaliſts. That ſide of the fort next the ſea is a perpendicular rock ſix hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the heighth of twelve feet, is continually waſhed by the ſea, except four or five days in the year, during the utmoſt receſs of the ſea, when, for the ſpace of three or four hours, it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry ſand at the foot of the rock. Bois-roſé, who found it impoſſible by any other way to ſurpriſe a garriſon, who guarded with great care a place lately taken, did not doubt of accompliſhing his deſign, if he could enter by that ſide which was thought inacceſſible; this he endeavoured by the following contrivance to perform.

He had agreed upon a ſignal with the two ſoldiers whom he had corrupted, and one of them waited for it continually upon the top of the rock, where he poſted himſelf during the whole time that it was low water. Bois-roſé taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came, with fifty reſolute men, choſen from amongſt the ſailors, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had provided himſelf with a thick cable, equal in length

* —— De Gouſtiminil, or Gouſminil, lord of the manor of Bois-roſé. See Chron. Novenn. book v. p. 94.

to

to the heighth of the rock, and tying knots at equal diſtances, run ſhort ſticks through, to ſerve to ſupport them as they climbed. The ſoldier whom he had gained, having waited ſix months for the ſignal, no ſooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which thoſe below faſtened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made faſt to an opening in the battlement with a ſtrong crow run through an iron ſtaple made for that purpoſe. Bois-roſé giving the lead to two ſerjeants whoſe courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty ſoldiers to mount the ladder in the ſame manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himſelf bringing up the rear, to take away all hope of returning; which indeed ſoon became impoſſible, for before they had aſcended half way, the ſea riſing more than ſix feet, carried off their boats, and ſet their cable a floating. The neceſſity of withdrawing from a difficult enterpriſe is not always a ſecurity againſt fear, when the danger appears almoſt inevitable. If the mind repreſents to itſelf theſe fifty men, ſuſpended between heaven and earth, in the midſt of darkneſs, truſting their ſafety to a machine ſo inſecure, that the leaſt want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary ſoldier, or the ſlighteſt fear, might precipitate them into the abyſs of the ſea, or daſh them againſt the rocks; add to this, the noiſe of the waves, the heighth of the rock, their wearineſs, and exhauſted ſpirits; it will not appear ſurpriſing, that the boldeſt amongſt them trembled, as in effect he who was foremoſt did. This ſerjeant telling the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-roſé, to whom this diſcourſe paſſed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, crept over the bodies of thoſe that were before him, adviſing each to keep firm, and got up to the foremoſt, whoſe ſpirits he at firſt endeavoured 1593.

to

1594. to animate; but finding that gentleneſs would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poignard; and, doubtleſs, if he had not obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the ſea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two ſoldiers into the caſtle, where they began to ſlaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard; ſleep delivered them up an eaſy prey to the enemy, who killed all that reſiſted, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort.

Bois-roſé immediately ſent notice of this amazing ſucceſs to admiral Villars, and thought the government of the citadel he had ſo dearly bought was the leaſt reward he might expect. However, he heard that Villars, or rather the commandeur de Grillon *, had a deſign to drive him out of it. Amidſt the firſt tranſports of his rage for this injuſtice, he delivered the caſtle of Feſcamp to the king, whoſe converſion he had juſt been informed of. Villars, at this news, broke off the negotiation which he had permitted madam De Simiers and La Font to carry on in his name, and ſent forces to inveſt Feſcamp. Bois-roſé, finding himſelf too weak to make a long reſiſtance, called the king to his aid, who inſtantly ſet forward for Dieppe, and came to St. Valery in Caux. When this hoſtility broke out, the three months truce was expired; but the king had been prevailed upon to prolong it for two or three months longer, upon the duke of Maïenne's repreſentation, that it was neceſſary he ſhould have more time to ſettle an affair of ſuch importance as his treaty, and that of the league, with the king. He failed not to exclaim againſt this violation of the truce, and ſent the count of Belin, governor of Paris, to the king, to complain of it. Belin came to St. Valery,

* Thomas Berton, governor of Honfleur, and brother to Grillon.

acquitted

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acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion, and demanded a farther prolongation of the truce for three months, which he ſaid was no more than neceſſary for the duke of Maïenne to make known his laſt intentions at Rome and Madrid, whither he had ſent cardinal de Joyeuſe * and Montpezat for that purpoſe. The king, who perceived he only wanted to amuſe him, rejected the count of Belin's propoſals; and, without liſtening to any more complaints of the action, which his enemies had been the firſt cauſe of, marched directly to Feſcamp, forced the troops of Villars to retire, and provided this fortreſs with plenty of all things neceſſary for its ſecurity. 1594.

The king, at his return to Mante, being informed that the marquis de Vitry † was inclined to receive him in Meaux, to favour the good intentions of this governor, he came to Lagny, where all things were ſo ordered, that he made his public entry into Meaux ‡ on the firſt day of the year 1594. La Chatre § immediately followed this example, with the cities of Orleans and Bourges.

The truce ‖ being at an end, the king laid ſiege to Ferté-Milon. I would have taken this opportunity to finiſh the buſineſs that had carried me to Bontin, but his majeſty commanded me to review ſome battalions of Swiſs at Montereau ⊥. I ſent to madam De Roſny to meet me at this place, from whence I intended to carry her to Mante.

* Francis, the ſecond of the ſeven ſons of William De Joyeuſe. Henry Des Prés, ſieur of Montpezat.

† Lewis de l'Hopital, marquis of Vitry.

‡ The duke of Maïenne upbraiding Vitry for having betrayed him, in delivering the city of Meaux into the king's hands, Vitry ſaid to his meſſenger: "You preſs me too much: you will at laſt make me ſpeak as becomes a ſoldier. Suppoſe a thief had ſtolen a purſe, and confided it to my care; if afterwards, coming to the knowledge of the right owner, I ſhould reſtore it him, and refuſe to give it back to the thief who had intruſted me with it, do you think I ſhould commit a wicked and treaſonable action? I did nothing elſe when I delivered up the city of Meaux." Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, tom. II.

§ Claude de la Chatre.

‖ Between Meaux and Soiſſons.

⊥ Montereau faut-yonne, in Champaigne.

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1594. She waited for me there to no purpose. Two days before that in which I was to review the Swiss, I received new dispatches from madam De Simiers and La Font, which informed me, that the man (meaning Villars) was appeased, and that nothing hindered me from resuming the scheme that had been laid aside. This affair the king thought of such importance as not to admit of a moment's delay. The count De * Chaligny just then coming to the army with a passport for Paris, intreated the king to send a person whom he could depend upon, to conduct him to that city; and the king was willing that I should take advantage of this opportunity, which offered me both the means of procuring a more certain knowledge of the designs of the duke of Maïenne and the league, and of getting to Rouen securely.

Accordingly, I accompanied the count De Chaligny to Paris; from whence, after having an interview with the duke of Maïenne, I went to Louviers, to the house of the sieur De St. Bonnet, about two leagues from Rouen: from this place I sent notice of my arrival to the persons who managed our interview: they came to fetch me the next evening, and introduced me into Fort St. Catherine, where captain Boniface received and treated me very magnificently while we waited for Villars, who came at night, attended only by one servant; I likewise having none but my valet de chambre with me. We did not part till after a conversation that lasted two hours, which left me entirely satisfied with the intentions of this governor. Our interview was conducted with the utmost secresy; for, besides that the governors of the chief royalist cities in the neighbourhood of Rouen would not have failed, either through jealousy or self interest, to cross the negotiation, and perhaps have done something worse, as in effect

* Henry De Lorrain, count of Chaligny, of the family of Moüy.

they

they did, as ſoon as they had any ſuſpicion of the affair; there were in this province a great number of forces, as well foreigners as thoſe belonging to the league, over whom Villars had no authority, and which might in a little time be joined by ſuch conſiderable ſupplies, as to make him repent of the meaſures he had engaged in. 1594.

I ſtaid five days in Fort St. Catherine with the ſame privacy; during which time I had ſeveral conferences with Villars, and entered upon the principal conditions for an accommodation. Intereſt was not here the greateſt difficulty to get over; he was leſs ſolicitous to gratify mercenary views, than to be convinced that the king, by treating with him, ſought not only to gain the capital of a provice, but to bind to his intereſts a man whom he knew to be equally willing and able to ſerve him. It has been already obſerved, what idea Villars had conceived of the king: as ſoon as my diſcourſe had confirmed him in it, I could perceive the treaty to be in great forwardneſs; but I could not then go any farther, not having in writing the neceſſary powers for concluding it.

But to give a more perfect knowledge of this governor's character: his whole conduct was influenced by one or the other of two qualities that predominated in him, or was produced by their concurrence: theſe two qualities were, courage and integrity; the firſt inſpired that elevated generoſity, that inborn noble pride *, which in great ſouls is only a perception of their own worth, without the leaſt mixture of mean vanity, or the intoxication of ſelf-love; the ſecond produces ſincerity and truth, makes its owner incapable of artifice and ſurprize, and always ready to yield to reaſon and juſtice: he who unites theſe two qualities, has ſeldom any other fault than being too quickly moved to ſudden eruptions of anger.

* M. De Thou, ſpeaking of admiral De Villars, ſays, that he was of a harſh and inſolent diſpoſition, book cili.

Such

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1594. Such was Villars: and what I have ſtill to ſay concerning him will juſtify the truth of this character: there was too great a conformity between his diſpoſition and the king's, to ſuffer him to continue long in a ſtate of enmity with him. The only difference between them was, that Henry, by often reflecting on the fatal effects of anger, by a habit acquired in a long courſe of misfortunes, by the neceſſity he was under of gaining friends; and laſtly, by the native tenderneſs of his heart, converted his firſt violent ſallies of rage into ſuch * emotions as were wholly under the government of his

* Here is a piece of private hiſtory, extracted out of the Memoirs of the life of the preſident De Thou, which proves what the author ſays here concerning the character of Henry IV. and which has alſo ſome relation to what had been ſaid before upon the ſiege of Rouen. "One day that Grillon came into the king's cloſet, to excuſe himſelf upon his being reproached, that his going backwards and forwards, to treat with the admiral, had afforded him an opportunity and the means of making that furious ſally which has been mentioned, he paſſed from excuſes to diſputes, then fell into a paſſion and uttered blaſphemies. The king, being exaſperated at this behaviour, commanded him to go out; but as Grillon was coming back every moment from the door, and they perceiving that the king grew pale with anger and impatience, they were afraid he would ſeize upon ſomebody's ſword and run the impudent fellow through. At laſt, being come to himſelf, after Grillon went out, and turning towards the lords who attended him, and who, with De Thou, had admired the patience with which he bore this inſolence, he ſaid to them, "Nature has formed me paſſionate, but ſince I have been ſenſible of this fault, I have always endeavoured to guard againſt the dictates of ſo dangerous a paſſion; I know by experience that it is a bad adviſer, and am glad to have ſuch good witneſſes of my moderation." It is certain, that his conſtitution, the fatigues he had endured, and the many viciſſitudes of fortune to which he had been ſubjected, had given him a firmneſs of ſoul, that was proof againſt the efforts of rage, but not the allurements of pleaſure. It was remarked, that while Grillon was thus conteſting with him, marſhal Biron, who was then in the king's room, ſitting upon a trunk, pretended to be aſleep; and as the diſpute grew warmer, his ſleep became more ſound; though Grillon came near him in order to abuſe him, and cried aloud in his ears, that he was a mangy ſnarling dog. The company were perſuaded that the marſhal only affected that deep ſleep, that he might not expoſe himſelf to the brutality of ſuch a fiery hot-brained man; which would infallibly have happened if he had ſeemed to hear him. It was alſo believed, that he was willing to leave the king all the fatigue of the converſation."

reaſon,

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reaſon, and ſeldom appeared in his countenance or geſture, and ſtill ſeldomer in his words. 1594.

The king was juſt come to Chartres *, which place he had choſen † for the ceremony of his coronation, when I joined him, to give him an account of my journey, and to procure full powers for concluding the treaty with Villars. I had expected to depart again immediately, and did not imagine he would detain me with him ten or twelve days, which was really the caſe. He was then endeavouring to reconcile the count of Soiſſons and the duke of Montpenſier, whoſe enmity was firſt occaſioned by ſome diſputes relating to the prerogatives of their rank as princes of the blood, and ſtrengthened and confirmed by their competition for the ſame poſts, the ſame governments, and, above all, for the ſame miſtreſs, who was the princeſs Catherine, ſiſter to the king. The duke of Montpenſier had certainly the advantage in the king's favour, as well as in fortune, for he had immenſe eſtates; he appeared at the coronation with a train of four or five hundred gentlemen, while his rival could with difficulty maintain a dozen: but, poor as he was, without places, without governments, and diſliked by the king ever ſince his eſcape from Rouen, he had this advantage over the duke, to poſſeſs entirely the heart of the princeſs. The counteſs of Guich ‡ was their confidant; ſhe was acquainted with all their ſecrets, managed their correſpondence when they could not ſee each other, and ſo confirmed their mutual affection, that ſhe made them both ſign a contract

* Feb. 17, 1594.

† Againſt a frivolous decree of the ſtates of Blois, which annuls this ceremony unleſs it is made in the city of Rheims. It was decided, that his majeſty ſhould be crowned by Nicholas De Thou, biſhop of this city, and not by the archbiſhop of Bourges, who claimed that honour as lord almoner; and that no uſe ſhould be made of the *Sainte-Ampoule*, or holy bottle. See this ceremony deſcribed in the hiſtorians.

‡ The ſame who had been miſtreſs to Henry IV, but ſhe was grown very fat, coarſe, and red-faced. Journ. of the reign of Henry III. tom. i. p. 279.

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1594. of marriage, which the confuſion only of the times prevented them from ſolemnizing.

His majeſty was ſo paſſionately deſirous of reconciling theſe two princes of the blood to each other, that the treaty with Villars was ſuffered to ſtand ſtill, whilſt he applied himſelf wholly to this affair. He had no regard to my remonſtrance, nor to the danger there was in delaying it; he inſiſted upon my undertaking the difficult taſk of making them friends, conjointly with the biſhop of Evreux, whom he had pitched upon at firſt, but found he was not able to ſucceed alone, in ſo delicate an affair. It is certain, I ſtill preſerved a great ſhare of the count's eſteem, but I was well acquainted with his inſolent and haughty diſpoſition, and that the fear only of ſeeming to yield to a rival who was his ſuperior, would not only confirm him in his pretenſions, but perhaps induce him to form new ones. I will not tire the reader with a detail of the diſputes, refuſals, and ſallies of ill humour which we were obliged to endure; we were more than once upon the point of giving up our taſk, as hopeleſs of ever accompliſhing it: however, by the force of arguments, founded upon the king's command, with much patience, and many importunities, we prevailed upon the two princes to ſee each other, and to embrace. I was not to anſwer for the ſincerity of this reconciliation: the article of their paſſion for the princeſs, and her marriage, which I carefully avoided mentioning, continuing ſtill undetermined, left the ſeeds of diviſion in their hearts: but this I looked upon as an inſurmountable obſtacle.

I was extremely well ſatisfied at having ſucceeded ſo far, without touching upon this article, and I now ſaw nothing to delay my journey to Rouen. But I was deceived: the king's extreme ſolicitude to reconcile theſe princes was with a view of attaining another end, which he ſtill more ardently deſired; and this was the very ſame that I thought I had

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had so prudently laid aside, the marriage of the princess his sister. Unfortunately I was the person his majesty fixed upon to accomplish this design. I was commissioned to get the contract of marriage, which I have just mentioned, out of the hands of the parties concerned; that, this obstacle being removed, the king, who was resolved to refuse the duke of Montpensier nothing he demanded, might be able to make use of his authority to prevail upon the princess to receive him for a husband, and by that means deliver himself from the apprehension of seeing a marriage concluded, which, though clandestinely, would be no less dangerous, since the count of Soissons would become his heir, whether he consented to it or not, and make use of his own riches against him: and if this marriage produced any children, as there was no doubt but it would, that would give his majesty, who had none, another cause for uneasiness. 1594.

I trembled when I received the king's order for this purpose. I would have represented to him, that Villars would certainly engage himself in the enemy's party for ever, as would also Medavy, and several other governors in Normandy, unless I went immediately to those places. The affair was resolved upon; the king would not hear me, and only granted me what I asked to insure the success of his scheme, which was, to give no suspicion of my being employed in it, and to leave me the choice of what measures I thought necessary to take.

When I was alone, and had reflected upon the nature of the commission which I had received, I confess I was thrown into the utmost perplexity. From the knowledge I had of the princess Catherine's disposition, from whom it was necessary to get this contract, I was convinced it was not in the power of human eloquence to make her approve of the king's designs with regard to her. How difficult a task! to persuade a woman, and a princess,

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1594. to renounce the man she loved, and bestow herself upon one whom she hated. There was no probability of succeeding but by artifice. I endeavoured to vanquish my scruples by reflecting, that in deceiving the lady, though I did not consult her inclination, yet I was attentive to her real interest; and that it was to free the king and kingdom from the bad consequences that might attend her irregular conduct, which induced me to act in this manner. I flattered myself that the princess would one day think herself obliged to me for having, by an innocent stratagem, prevented the ruin of her fortune, together with the loss of the king her brother's friendship. Specious as these reasons were, I cannot help confessing, that I did betray her; and this gave me pain. The impossibility of succeeding by any other means, and the hope that even she would one day pardon the deceit, and confess that I had done her a real service by it, was what at last determined me. As for the count, having no occasion to make any application to him, and being likewise but little attached to him, the respect that was due to his person ought to be laid aside, when it opposed the public utility, and what the service of the king my master required of me. However, this affair, in the end, was the cause of great uneasiness to me, which my scruples, and the reluctance I had to engage in it, should have preserved me from.

There was still another difficulty to be removed. I saw the princess very seldom, on account of the multiplicity of business in which I was engaged, and I knew her discernment too well to doubt that whatever measures I made use of to obtain the contract in question, my unusual assiduity would in a mind naturally distrustful, create suspicions which would put her upon her guard against all I could say or get others to say to her: I therefore endeavoured to act in such a manner that she should prevent me herself. For this purpose I made use of the

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the two Du-Perrons, who I knew (especially the youngest) were of a humour to make their court to the Great at the expence of betraying a secret. I was intimate only with the bishop of Evreux, the eldest: but one risques nothing in depending upon the good opinion all men have of their own merit; on this article they are always their own dupes first. I went therefore to visit the younger Du-Perron; I flattered him; I insinuated myself into his favour by feigning to impart secrets to him: He began to think himself a man of vast importance, and, through vanity, believed every word I said to him. When I perceived him intoxicated with self-admiration, I told him (with all the appearances of the utmost sincerity, exacting at the same time an oath of secrecy from him, which I should have been very sorry he had kept) that the king had imparted to me in confidence his intentions with regard to the princess; that he was resolved to marry her to the count of Soissons; and that some little difficulties, which still remained to be got over, prevented his majesty from publicly declaring his design. I was assured two days only would be sufficient for Du-Perron to get rid of this weighty secret, in such a manner that it would reach the princess Catherine. Accordingly, a moment afterwards he told it, with injunctions of secresy, to monsieur De Courtenai *, and two other of the count of Soisson's most intimate confidants. They ran to inform the count of it, and he the princess and the countess of Guiche. 1594.

I did not doubt but the princess, flattered with such an agreeable hope, would make me the first advances; and I was not deceived. Going to take leave of her, as a man just ready to undertake a long journey, I had a complete proof of Du-Perron's fidelity. The princess received me with more than usual respect; and the countess of

* Gaspard de Courtenai.

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1594. Guiche, not willing to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity, after ſome converſation upon indifferent matters, made haſte to bring the affair of the princeſs's marriage with the count, who was preſent, upon the carpet, and embracing me in a tranſport of friendſhip, "See," ſaid ſhe to the lovers, "a "man who is able to ſerve you." The princeſs then, addreſſing herſelf to me, told me, that I knew the count and her had always eſteemed me greatly; and that ſhe in particular would be extremely obliged to me, if I would aſſiſt her endeavours to reſtore herſelf to the favour of the king her brother. She ſpoke only theſe few words, and left the care of ſaying more to that inſinuating and graceful air, which ſhe knew better than any other woman in the world how to aſſume when ſhe pleaſed. I ſeemed to be abſolutely gained, and after thanking the princeſs for the honour ſhe did me, I added, that if I might depend upon the ſecreſy of all that were then preſent, I would inform them of ſome circumſtances which would not be indifferent to them. Women make no ſcruple to promiſe ſecreſy, though they have been always accuſed of performing that promiſe very ill. The princeſs and her confidant added an oath to the aſſurances they gave me; but it was not my deſign to explain myſelf farther at that time. I aſked them for three days delay: they aſſiſted me in finding an excuſe for deferring my journey to Rouen; and I took leave of the company, who impatiently expected the time I had preſcribed.

I was punctual to my appointment, and waited upon the princeſs at the expiration of the three days. I ſuffered myſelf to be preſſed a long time before I would diſcloſe my ſecret; at laſt, ſeeming to yield to the importunity of the two ladies, I told them, that having ſeveral times ſounded the king upon the marriage in queſtion, he at firſt ſhewed ſome reluctance to it, without caring to explain himſelf

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farther; but my earneſt intreaties had at length prevailed upon him to open his heart to me upon this ſubject; and he confeſſed, that far from feeling any repugnance to conclude this marriage, he thought it a very proper one; and that ſince he had no iſſue of his own, he ſhould be overjoyed to ſee the offspring of his ſiſter and a prince of his blood, whom he would look upon as his own children: that the gentle and complying diſpoſition of the count of Soiſſons and the princeſs was highly agreeable to him, but that he ſhould find it very difficult to forget that the count had endeavoured to deceive him, and to obtain his ſiſter without his conſent. This ſpeech, every word of which I had concerted before, produced the effect I deſigned it ſhould: the two lovers and their confidant began to confeſs they had acted indiſcretely, and to condemn themſelves for conducting the affair with ſuch a ſpirit of independance. This was what I waited for: I ſeized this opportunity to convince them that I believed the offence might be ſoon repaired; that the king was naturally kind, and eaſily forgot paſt injuries; all that was now neceſſary to be done, was to behave in a quite contrary manner, to ſolicit his favour, ſeem abſolutely dependant upon him, leave him maſter of their deſtiny; in fine (and this was the moſt difficult point of all) ſacrifice to him the contract they had both ſigned, as being what he was moſt offended with; and not to fear giving him even a declaration in writing, in which they ſhould both bind themſelves not to marry without his conſent: after this condeſcenſion, I told them, on their ſide, I believed I might aſſure them, that in leſs than three months the king would himſelf prevent their deſires, and unite them for ever. 1594.

I found no difficulty in gaining credit to theſe aſſurances, and that very inſtant they promiſed to reſign the contract of marriage, poſſibly becauſe they thought it would be of no uſe to them, if the

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1594. king, when he became abſolute maſter in his dominions, ſhould not agree to it. The counteſs of Guiche ſaid ſhe had left it at Bearn, but would ſend for it immediately. They did not ſo eaſily yield to the declaration I demanded afterwards, and without which their reſigning the contract ſignified nothing, ſince the parties might whenever they pleaſed renew it. This was the very argument I made uſe of to enforce the neceſſity of giving it, and I convinced them, that without this the king could neither depend upon their ſincerity, nor be aſſured of their obedience. This article was ſtrongly conteſted; and when at laſt, by the force of remonſtrances, I obtained a writing, by which the princeſs and the count cancelled all promiſes that had paſſed between them, releaſed each other from any engagement, and ſubmitted themſelves abſolutely to the king's diſpoſal, the conſequences of this writing alarmed them, and they had recourſe to a medium, without which it is probable the affair had reſted as it was: this medium was, that I only ſhould be intruſted with it, and ſhould not ſuffer it to go out of my hands, not even though the king ſhould require it. Luckily they did not add, that it ſhould be returned to the princeſs, if matters took an unfavourable turn. I promiſed them, upon my word and honour, that I would not part with it; which ſatisfied them entirely, and the writing was delivered to me, in form, ſigned by the princeſs and the count, and ſealed with their arms. The king's joy for my ſucceſs, which he durſt hardly flatter himſelf with the hopes of, was conſiderably leſs, when he found the writing was to remain in my hands: he often entreated me earneſtly to give it him; but finding, by my perſiſting to refuſe him, that the obedience I owed him could not influence me to a breach of my promiſe, he no longer ſolicited me to it. The two lovers ſeeing the agreeable hopes I had given them ſtill unaccompliſhed, could not, as it may be well

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imagined, pardon me for having deceived them: the ſucceeding part of theſe Memoirs will ſhew how they reſented it. 1594.

After the concluſion of this affair, which I cannot remember without pain, I was wholly employed in preparing for my journey to Rouen. I was apprehenſive, and not without reaſon, that ſo long a delay had abſolutely broke all my firſt meaſures with admiral Villars: however, I obtained full powers * from the king to conclude a treaty, not only with this governor, but alſo with all the other governors and officers of the province. Juſt as I was going to ſet out, Deſportes arrived, and ſtopped me once more; he was ſent by the baron De Medavy to the biſhop of Evreux, to deſire that he would lend him his houſe of Condé for a little time; and alſo prevail upon me to come thither, that he might confer with me upon the conditions of his treaty, and that of Verneuil. I left Chartres, and came in the evening to Anet, madam D'Aumale having long earneſtly ſolicited me to viſit her there.

This lady, who had more underſtanding and prudence than her huſband, conjured him inceſſantly to break with the league, and reſign himſelf wholly to the king. She was ſenſible, that not only his duty and ſafety required that he ſhould take this ſtept, but his intereſt likewiſe; for the duke D'Aumale's † domeſtic affairs were in ſuch diſorder, that there was no other way to avoid approaching ruin, but by being amongſt the firſt who returned to their duty and obedience on this occaſion, and were therefore diſtinguiſhed with very conſiderable rewards. I alighted at an inn in Anet, and while my ſupper was preparing, went to wait upon

* The preſent duke of Sully has the original of this full power in his poſſeſſion, as likewiſe many of the originals of Maximilian de Bethune's letters upon this ſubject.

† Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale, who died in 1631, in his retirement at Bruſſels; his wife was Mary de Lorraine, daughter of René, duke of Elbeuf.

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1594. madam D'Aumale, attended only by one page. To the joy that animated the countenance of this lady the moment she perceived me, she added the favour of a most obliging and friendly reception; and that she might not waste moments so precious, took my hand and made me walk with her in those fine galleries and gardens which make Anet a most enchanting place: here she expressed to me her earnest desire to have her husband return to the obedience he owed his sovereign, and named the conditions upon which he might be induced to consent to it. I omit all the propositions, either approved or rejected, that passed between us. Hitherto I had seen nothing but what did honour to the master of a house truly royal; and I should have been ignorant of the deplorable extremity to which the duke was reduced, if she had not intreated, and even forced me to sup with her, and to stay there all night. After a repast, which we waited for a long time, and when it came was as bad as the attendance we had at it, I was conducted into a very large chamber, all shining with marble, but almost destitute of furniture, and so cold, that I could neither get heat, nor sleep in a bed, where the short narrow silk curtains, one thin coverlid, and damp sheets, were sufficient to benumb one with cold, even in the midst of summer: not able to continue in bed, I rose, and thought to secure myself against the inconveniences of my damp lodging by making a fire, but I could find no other wood to burn than green holm and juniper, which it was impossible to kindle: I was obliged therefore to wear my gown the whole night, by which means I was very early awake, and joyfully quitting so disagreeable a lodging, I went to join my attendants, the meanest of whom fared better, and passed the night more comfortably than their master.

I made myself amends for this fatigue at Condé, where I found every conveniency that could contribute

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tribute towards an agreeable reception: as soon as I arrived, I got into a good bed, Medavy not being expected till noon. At first he regulated his behaviour according to that notion, that in such a conjuncture as the present the most considerable nobleman has a right to set ten times a greater value upon himself than he is worth; he performed his part perfectly well, by an air of false distrust, and an affected superiority, which he imagined would procure him some advantage. I contrasted his vanity with a frankness that shewed it to himself, and told him calmly, that if he waited till the great cities came to an accommodation, he, who had only Verneuil to offer, his sacrifice would immediately lose half of its value; and that afterwards perhaps his propositals would not be listened to, and no reward granted him. My sincerity forced him to be candid likewise; he appeared more reasonable, and we soon agreed: he only intreated me not to make the affair public till the end of March, because he had engaged to Villars to do nothing without his participation. He sent Desportes with me to Rouen, to pay this compliment to the governor, and to observe, at the same time, whether I concluded the treaty with Villars, whose accommodation drew his along with it, and in some measure necessarily. 1594.

I came to Louviers the next day, from whence making known my arrival to admiral Villars, he sent the captain of his guards to receive me at the gate of the city. I did not enter secretly as before, but publicly, and with a kind of pomp. The streets were filled with the people; and the hopes of a peace by which quiet and commerce would be restored to their city, drew loud acclamations of joy from them as I passed. Villars had caused the finest house in Rouen to be prepared for the reception of me and my train, which consisted of twelve or fifteen gentlemen; and had given all the necessary orders for treating us magnificently.

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1594. La-Font, who had the care of my reception, waited to conduct me thither: he outdid his master, and at night gave me the music, and the diversion of dancers, and jugglers, whom I could not prevail upon to receive either money or presents. I sent Du-Perat to make my compliments to the admiral, madam de Simiers, and the abbé De Tiron *, who all had a great share in the management of this affair: they returned me the same civility a few moments after by the sieur De Perdriel, and desired him to tell me, that I must rest this day, and we should enter upon business the next. This, however, did not hinder the abbot from visiting me in the evening, without ceremony; indeed his whole conduct upon this occasion discovered a degree of rectitude and sincerity rarely to be found in such negotiations.

I found by his discourse that the king had been within a very little of losing Villars irretrievably. A deputy from Spain, named Don Simon-Antonio, and another called Chapelle Marteau ‡, from the duke of Maïenne, came to Rouen some days before my arrival, and had made very advantageous proposals to this governor; he had likewise daily received letters from the catholics, even those in the king's party, which tended to raise unfavourable suspicions of his majesty's designs, and to prejudice him against a negotiation entrusted to a protestant agent: this argument had great weight with Villars, always zealous for his religion, and would have infallibly determined him for the enemies party, if in this perplexity his mind had not been ballanced by other letters from the cardinal of Bourbon, the bishop of Evreux, and the marquis de Vitry, who all assured him he might depend upon the king's word and my sincerity. Tiron shewed me part of each of these letters, and

* Philip Des-Portes, abbot of Josaphat, Tiron, and Bonport.

‡ Michael Marteau, sieur de la Chapelle.

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thought it neceſſary to warn me, that the admiral, having been perpetually beſet by deputies from the league, and offended likewiſe at the delays that had been uſed with him, I muſt not expect to vanquiſh his irreſolution without ſuffering ſome of thoſe ſallies of rage, ſo natural to him, and which with a little patience it was eaſy to allay. 1594.

I went to wait on * Villars, well prepared to ſuſtain all theſe little aſſaults, and at firſt perceived plainly that the ſight of me awakened ſome remains of diſtruſt and anger in his mind. My behaviour ſoon diſſipated this cloud, and he with great calmneſs and ſerenity propoſed his conditions, which were comprized under the following heads: That he ſhould continue ſtill in his poſt of admiral, which had been beſtowed on him by the league; and in his government of Rouen poſſeſs a power independent of the duke of Montpenſier, governor of that province, at leaſt during three years; and that this power ſhould extend over the bailiwics of Rouen and Caux: That the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion ſhould not be allowed in this capital, nor fix leagues about it: That all the officers poſted by the league in the cities belonging to his government ſhould be continued there, with fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, to be maintained by the king for the ſecurity of thoſe cities: That his majeſty ſhould give him the ſum of an hundred and twenty thouſand livres to pay his debts, and a yearly penſion of ſixty thouſand: That Feſcamp ſhould be delivered to him: And laſtly, that he ſhould have the diſpoſal of the abbeys of Jumiéges, Tiron, Bonport, La Valaſe, Saint-Taurin, and that of Montiviliers, which he deſigned for a ſiſter of madam de Simiers.

* M. de Villars, in the Memoirs of thoſe times, is repreſented to be of a haughty diſpoſition, and ſubject to frequent tranſports of anger. It is there obſerved, that the baron De Roſny was the only one that could ſucceed in theſe negotiations. Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, vol. II. Theſe negotiations of the baron De Roſny are alſo commended by M. de Thou, b. cix.

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1594. If all these articles had as much depended upon me as that relating to the abbey of Saint-Taurin, which was my own, and which I immediately yielded to Villars, the treaty had been concluded without any farther delay; and this I assured him of with regard to those wherein the king was absolute master. But however full and extensive the powers I had received from his majesty were, I could do nothing in those articles which regarded the duke of Montpensier, and Biron, who was invested with the post of admiral, and in possession of Fescamp, which he had got from Bois-rosé on a promise of indemnification, that had not yet been fulfilled; and I did not think I had a right to settle this affair without informing the king of it. As I did not hesitate upon any of those conditions which depended immediately upon the king to grant, I expected that Villars would have been satisfied with my conduct; but this governor going out with the deputies from the league at the very moment that I was endeavouring to make him comprehend my reasons, he interrupted me hastily with these few words, pronounced with great fury: "That I might spare myself the "trouble of talking to him any more, since he "was determined either to finish the treaty upon "the spot, or break it off entirely."

Although I was a little stunned with this unforeseen blow, I answered Villars calmly, that I was persuaded the king would grant him the three articles in question, as well as all the others (that of Fescamp making two, because Bois-rosé was concerned in it:) That this needed not hinder us from drawing up the treaty, and even signing it that moment, as if every thing was agreed to, inserting only this note in the margin over against the three articles, *To be determined by the king*. And to convince him that I sought not to gain time, in order to betray him afterwards, I offered to remain in his power as an hostage, till his majesty returned

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returned an anſwer. Villars ſtill ſtarted new difficulties, but he could not reſiſt madam de Simiers, the abbot Tiron, and La Font, who all ſupported my arguments. I had the treaty drawn up in haſte; we ſigned it; and I ſent a copy of it immediately to the king, with a long letter, in which I gave him an account of all that had paſſed. But before the anſwer could be brought to Rouen, an incident happened, which we once imagined would have rendered it uſeleſs. 1594.

Moſt of the governors of the ſmall forts in the neighbourhood of Rouen, far from returning to the duty and obedience they owed their king, perſiſted in their revolt, becauſe, in the preſent confuſed ſtate of affairs, they acquired gains, which they foreſaw would ceaſe with the war. The moſt artful amongſt them made themſelves equally neceſſary to each of the contending parties, and exacted bribes from both. Du Rollet, governor of Pont de l'Arche, was one of thoſe who acted on theſe principles with the greateſt ſubtilty. He had for more than a year flattered the king with hopes that he would fall upon means to deliver the city of Rouen and its governor into his hands, provided he would give the government of this place to him, which his majeſty at all events gave him a written promiſe of. Du Rollet failing in an enterpriſe which exceeded his abilities, took it into his head to blaſt my negotiation, which he attempted in this manner:

He commanded an officer named Dupré to mingle with my train as I paſſed through Ponte de l'Arche, and to enter Rouen with me. I had been informed that Du Rollet was diſaffected, but I had no reaſon to ſuſpect this officer of having any bad deſigns, nor could I hinder him from following me. I was likewiſe abſolutely ignorant of this Dupré's being the very ſame perſon who had been employed by Du Rollet before to cabal againſt Villars

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1594. Villars in Rouen *. He was no ſooner entered, than, renewing his former acquaintance, he put himſelf at the head of a party of raſh inconſiderate perſons, with whom he laid a plot to ſeize the old palace, and ſecure the governor's perſon; perſuading them that he acted thus by my orders. As he had no other deſign than to alarm the governor, and to inſpire him with the utmoſt deteſtation of me, he was not at much trouble to keep the affair ſecret; in effect, Villars was informed of it immediately.

The exceſs of anger this news threw him into, and the injurious thoughts it inſpired him with againſt the king, and eſpecially me, may be eaſily imagined. Convinced that he had now an inconteſtable proof of my treachery, he would not examine the matter any further, but ſent D'Inſencourt to me that moment to deſire I would come to him. I had dined that day with La Pile, attorney-general of the chamber of accounts, and had juſt received letters which pleaſed me exceedingly. The king granted Villars the three articles which had been referred to him, and engaged to procure the conſent of the parties concerned. Over againſt theſe articles, I had written upon the margin of the original treaty which I had carried with me, *To be agreed by his majeſty's command.* I promiſed myſelf great pleaſure in thus ſurprizing Villars, who could not expect ſuch a quick diſpatch; and went out of La Pile's houſe with the treaty in one hand, holding a white ſcarf which I had put into my pocket in the other, intending to throw it about Villars's neck, and embracing him, to ſalute him admiral and governor of the diſtricts of Rouen and Caux. The contrariety of reflections

* During the ſiege of Rouen, Du Rollet endeavouring to throw himſelf into that city, was taken and ſhut up in the old caſtle, where however, it is probable, he ſtill continued to carry on intrigues for the king's intereſt. Cayet, b. iv. p. 14.

that

that employed our minds as we advanced towards each other had, I believe, ſomething in it very uncommon. 1594.

My gaiety was ſoon overcaſt, for Villars perceiving me at a diſtance, came towards me with haſty ſtrides, his face ſwelled and inflamed, his eyes ſparkling, and all his looks and geſtures expreſſive of the moſt violent tranſports of fury. He began by ſnatching the paper out of my hand, and not giving me time to ſpeak, with a voice ſo altered by this inward agitation that it was ſcarcely articulate, he ſtammered out theſe words, too remarkable, not to be related exactly.

"So, ſir, where, in the devil's name, are you "going ſo airy, and ſo full of mirth? By heavens "you have not attained your purpoſe, and before "the game is ended, you may perhaps have no "cauſe to ſmile, at leaſt if I treat you as you de-"ſerve. You are out in your reckoning, you, "and your king of Navarre alſo, for by my ſoul "he has got a —— in the baſket, and if he can "find no other footman than Villars, I fancy he "will be but badly ſerved." Saying this, he tore the treaty in a thouſand pieces, and threw them into the fire. Having given the reins to his fury, he added an infinite number of invectives in the ſame tone, and equally extravagant, intermingling them with oaths, the rage he was in furniſhing him with an inexhauſtable ſource of them.

That I ſuffered him to go on thus, without interruption, was at firſt owing to my aſtoniſhment, or rather indeed to the neceſſity I was under of hearing him, and afterwards to the reflection that theſe ſorts of diſpoſitions cannot bear contradiction: at length ſtopping of himſelf, he began to traverſe his chamber, which was very long and wide, like a man out of his ſenſes. "Well, ſir," ſaid I, when I found he was ſilent, "have you done yet talk-"ing at random? You have reaſon to be ſatisfied "at having thus behaved like a madman, without "being

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1594. "being contradicted in your extravagancies." Perceiving that the calm manner in which I ſpoke to him obliged him in ſpite of himſelf to liſten to me, I proceeded to tell him, that what he had juſt ſaid and done in my preſence appeared to be nothing but an artifice he had conceived to retract the word he had ſo ſolemnly given; but that this turn would always diſhonour him, and greatly leſſen my opinion of his wiſdom and integrity. "'Sdeath," cried he, ſtopping ſhort, "I never did, nor ever "will deſerve or ſuffer ſuch a reproach. I am a "man of too much honour; ſuch evaſions are "only fit for thoſe who betray their friends, "and endeavour to get them aſſaſſinated." Hitherto he had ſaid nothing ſo plain as this laſt word, by which, though I could not comprehend the whole extent of his meaning, yet I was able to gueſs from whence ſo furious a behaviour proceeded.

I demanded an explanation, and proteſted to him, with that air of ſincerity and confidence with which even the moſt prejudiced cannot help being affected, that I was abſolutely ignorant of his meaning; and that if I could be convicted of any unfair proceedings with regard to him, I was ready to deliver myſelf into his hands, without deſiring either pardon or favour. Thus obliging him to be more explicit, he reproached me with having employed Dupré to aſſaſſinate him, and to ſeize upon the old palace. The violence of his agitation not permitting him to ſpeak otherwiſe than in broken and interrupted ſentences, the affair appeared to me utterly improbable, and I could not hinder myſelf from entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of his ſincerity, nor from telling him, that he had been ſeduced by Spaniſh piſtoles to contrive ſuch a ſlight pretence for breaking with me. "Who "I?" cried he, relapſing again in a rage, "'Sdeath, "muſt I confeſs that I have acted treacherouſly "with you, and broke my oath? I would rather "die

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" die that be guilty of such baseness." " By 1594.
" heaven, sir," answered I, " for you teach me
" to swear, it is only by your fulfilling or breaking
" off the treaty, that I shall know whether to
" believe you an honest or a perjured man."

We continued thus expostulating a long time, which increased rather than lessened our mutual dissatisfaction; so that at last we both became equally enraged. During this contest the abbot de Tiron came in, and entering immediately into the occasion of our quarrel, reduced us both to reason. " Depend upon it, sir," said he to Villars, " the
" baron de Rosny is not guilty of the schemes
" that have been laid against you; he is a man
" of too much honour; and, in such a case, too
" prudent to throw himself into your power."

These few words explained every thing. I turned calmly towards Villars, telling him, that I was convinced anger alone had been the cause of all the injurious things he had said; and that I expected, as soon as it was allayed, he would repair his fault, by performing his first promise. " Well,
" sir," said he, already half pacified, " I will keep
" my word: but take care also not to fail of
" yours, with regard to the three articles yet un-
" determined." I answered, that if it had not been for his fury, which made him throw the treaty into the fire, he might have seen that the king consented to grant him them all.

We were upon these terms when madam De Simiers was introduced. " Don't be angry with
" me, madam," said he, as he went to receive her: " all is over, we are good friends again;
" but, by heaven, the traitor who made all this
" mischief shall die before I eat or drink." He kept his word, for causing Dupré to be brought before him, after he had confessed the whole affair, he ordered him, without the formality of a trial, to be hung up at a window.

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1594. Villars intreating me afterwards to ſhew him the king's letter, I did not ſcruple to tell him, that his majeſty's ſecrets ought only to be communicated to his open and declared ſervants. To make Villars of this number, nothing more was neceſſary but to draw up the treaty again, which we ſigned, and each of us kept a duplicate of it. It was agreed between us, that the affair ſhould remain a ſecret for ſome time, on account of the league and the Spaniards, againſt whom this governor took new meaſures, by reinforcing the troops he had in Rouen. After this, I no longer made any difficulty in ſhewing him all my letters, as well thoſe which I had written to and received from the king before, as that in which I informed him of the ratification of the treaty, and his majeſty's anſwer to it. The courier who carried theſe laſt diſpatches was not more than four hours on his journey.

Theſe letters gave great ſatisfaction to Villars, particularly the laſt, written with the king's own hand. His majeſty in that thanked me more like a friend, than a ſovereign, for the ſervice I had juſt done him, and concluded with theſe words, "Come to me at Senlis, on the 20th of March, "or at Saint Denis on the 21ſt, that you may "help to cry *Long live the king* in Paris, and afterwards we will do the ſame at Rouen:" for I wrote to him that his preſence there was neceſſary. "Shew this letter," added he, "to the new friend "you have acquired me, that he may ſee I do "not forget him, and be convinced that I love "him, and know how to prize and reward ſuch "brave men as he is." "By heaven," ſaid Villars, at this place, "this prince is too gracious "and obliging to remember me, and ſpeak of "me in ſuch advantageous terms." From that moment Villars continued firm in his obedience and affection to the king; nor had his majeſty amongſt his moſt ancient ſervants one more abſolutely

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lutely devoted to his intereſts than him. He de- 1594.
ſired me to be ſatisfied with his word for the faithful execution of all the articles comprehended in the treaty, and I accepted it as the beſt ſecurity he could give me.

The remainder of the time that I ſtaid in Rouen was employed in regulating ſome affairs of the ſame nature. I uſually ſpent the day with the admiral, and at night retired to my apartment, to give audience to all the officers as well of the city and parliament, as of the army, that were ſcattered throughout that province, and who came to me privately to concert meaſures for ſeparating the people from the intereſts of the league. Medavy was of this number, and I concluded the treaty with him. Verneuil not being a city of ſuch importance as to make it neceſſary to uſe the ſame precautions with it as with Rouen, the king ordered Medavy to publiſh his treaty, for an example to the other governors.

As I was ſollicitous not to neglect meeting his majeſty at the place he had appointed me, I made haſte to relieve Rouen, after receiving from the governor every inſtance of gratitude and reſpect. I took a leave equally affectionate of the abbot De Tiron, and madam De Simiers, promiſed them to return ſoon, and aſſured madam De Simiers, I would bring her brother, the marquis De Vitry, along with me, with a body of troops ſufficient to put Villars into a condition to explain himſelf without danger. The obligations I owed to them were great enough to demand this ſervice of me, although his majeſty's intereſt had not been an additional motive to it.

It was upon ſome correſpondencies the king carried on in Paris that he found his hopes of being ſoon admitted there, and he was on his way thither from St. Denis when I joined him. His party in that city was ſo firmly united, and ſo many perſons of equal courage and fidelity had

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1594. joined, that it was almoſt impoſſible but that it ſhould ſucceed. Ever ſince the battle of Arques, when the count Belin was taken priſoner by the king's forces, and had an opportunity of diſcovering the great qualities of that prince contraſted with the weakneſs of his enemies, the duke of Maïenne perceived the inclinations of this governor to lean ſecretly towards the king. Full of this ſuſpicion, he did not heſitate a moment about depriving him * of the government of ſo conſiderable a city as Paris, and ſought for a man whoſe fidelity to himſelf and the league could be depended upon, to entruſt the care of this great city to, at a time when the neceſſity of his affairs obliged him to repair to the frontier of Picardy; accordingly he fixed upon Briſſac †, and beſtowed this government upon him.

Briſſac, at firſt, anſwered his purpoſe perfectly well. The ſtudy of the roman hiſtory had inſpired this officer (who valued himſelf greatly upon his penetration and judgment) with a very ſingular project, which was, to form France into a republic upon the model of ancient Rome, and make Paris the capital of this new ſtate. Had Briſſac deſcended ever ſo little from theſe lofty ideas to an attention to particular circumſtances, which in the greateſt deſigns it is neceſſary to have ſome regard to, he would have perceived that a ſcheme, however happily imagined, may, by the nature of the obſtacles which oppoſe it, by the difference of the genius, and character of the people, by the force of thoſe laws they have adopted, and by long cuſtom, which, as it were, ſtamps a ſeal upon them, become alike chimerical and impracticable. Time only and long experience can bring remedies

* The parliament upon this occaſion made a decree, highly honourable for the count of Belin. The citizens are there exhorted rather to partake than ſuffer his baniſhment from the city. Memoirs for the hiſtory of France, Vol. II. Memoirs of the league, Vol. VI.

† Charles De Coſſé, count of Briſſac, marechal of France.

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to the defects in the customs of a state whose form is already determined; and this ought always to be attempted with a view to the plan of its original constitution *: this is so certain, that whenever we see a state conducted by measures contrary to those made use of in its foundation, we may be assured a great revolution is at hand; nor do the application of the best remedies operate upon diseases that resist their force. 1594.

Brissac did not go so far; he could not for a long time comprehend from whence the general opposition his designs met with proceeded, for he had explained himself freely to the nobles and all the chief partisans of the league: at last he began to be apprehensive for his own safety, lest while, without any assistance, he was labouring to bring his project to perfection, the king should destroy it entirely, by seizing his capital. Possessed with this fear, the Roman ideas quickly gave place to the French spirit of those times, which was to be solicitous only for his own advantage. When self-interested motives are strengthened by the apprehension of any danger, there are few persons who will not be induced by them to betray even their best friend. Thus Brissac † acted: he entered into the count of Belin's resolutions, but from a motive far less noble and generous; and thought of nothing but of making the king purchase, at the highest price, the treachery he meditated against the duke of Maïenne, in his absence. St. Luc ‡,

* The sense in which the duke of Sully understands this maxim, and the true one in which it ought to be taken, is, that the ancient form and fundamental principles of government are to be changed as little as possible; he does not mean, that we are to admit the abuses which ignorance or necessity have introduced in the different institutions relating to the finances, politics, &c. He will treat this subject more largely in the sequel of these Memoirs.

† The duke of Maïenne, as De Thou observes, was informed of Brissac's treachery by the dutchess of Guise, his mother; but he would not believe her. See the reduction of the city of Paris, Matt. vol. II. b. i. p. 174. Chron. Novenn. b. vi. p. 334. and other historians.

‡ Francis D'Epinay, lord of St. Luc, master-general of the ordnance.

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1594. his brother-in-law, undertook to negotiate with the king in his name, and having procured very advantageous conditions, Briſſac agreed to admit Henry with his army into Paris, in ſpite of the Spaniards. The troops of the league were abſolutely at his diſpoſal, and they had no reaſon to apprehend any oppoſition from the people.

D'O * loſt no time in making application for the government of Paris, and the iſle of France, and obtained his requeſt; but now a conflict between his intereſt and ambition ſo perplexed this ſuperintendant, that, notwithſtanding his new dignity, the reduction of Paris was amongſt the number of thoſe things he moſt feared ſhould happen: he would have had it believed, that the true motive of this fear was, leſt the finances ſhould become a prey to the men of the ſword and gown, by whom, he ſaid, the king, as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of Paris, would be oppreſſed, for the payment of penſions, appointments, and rewards. But this diſcourſe deceived none but thoſe who were ignorant of the advantage he found in keeping the affairs of the finances in their preſent ſtate of confuſion, and with what ſucceſs he had hitherto laboured for that purpoſe.

The king, upon this occaſion, put all the friends of the count of Belin in motion, on whom he had no leſs dependance than upon Briſſac; and at nine o'clock in the morning † preſented himſelf, at the head of eight thouſand men, before Porte Neuve, where the ‡ mayor of Paris, and the other magi-

* Our Memoirs make no mention of monſieur D'O's being deprived by the league of this government, which Henry III. had beſtowed upon him. Peref. 2d part.

† March 22.

‡ This mayor of Paris was John L'Huillier, who when Briſſac ſaid to him, "We muſt render to "Cæſar the things that are Cæ-"ſar's," he replied, "We muſt "render them, indeed, but not "ſell them to him." F. L'Etoile's Journal aſcribes the repartee to Henry IV. L'Huillier was rewarded with the poſt of preſident of the chamber of accounts, and counſellor of ſtate; and Martin Langlois, an alderman, was made mayor of Paris in his room. Le Grain, b. vi. It is obſerved, in the volume of

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ſtrates, received him in form. He went immediately and took poſſeſſion of the Louvre, the Palace, the Great and Little Châtelet, and found no oppoſition any where; he proceeded even to the church of Notre Dame, which he entered to return thanks to God for his ſucceſs. His ſoldiers, on their ſide, fulfilled with ſuch exactneſs the orders * and intentions of their maſter, that no one throughout this great city complained of having received any outrage from them. They took poſſeſſion of all the ſquares and croſs-ways in the ſtreets, where they drew up in order of battle. All was quiet; and from that day the ſhops were opened with all the ſecurity which a long continued peace could have given. 1594.

The Spaniards had now only the Baſtille, the Temple, and the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin in their poſſeſſion; and there they fortified themſelves, being about four thouſand in number, with the duke De Feria and Don Diego d'Evora at their head; all greatly aſtoniſhed at ſuch unexpected news †, and firmly reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, if any attempts were made to force them from theſe advantageous poſts. The king relieved them from their perplexity, by ſending to tell them, that they might

MSS. marked 9033. in the king's library, that Henry IV. entering Paris by the new gate, which has been ſince called the gate of the conference, he went out again, and returned ſeveral times, fearing, notwithſtanding the repeated aſſurances of the mayor and aldermen, that by permitting his troops to enter Paris, their deſign was to cut them in pieces, and ſeize his perſon.

* The king perceiving a ſoldier take a loaf from a baker by force, ran to him and would have killed him. L'Etoile's Journal. Perefix ſays, that La-Nouë being arreſted for debts which his father contracted in this prince's ſervice, complained to him of that inſolence. The king, in public, ſaid to him, "La-Nouë, you muſt pay "your debts, I pay mine;" but afterwards, taking him aſide, he gave him his jewels to pawn to the creditors, inſtead of the baggage they had ſeized of his. Peref. part 2d.

† L'Etoile obſerves, that this news being brought to the Spaniards while Langlois was amuſing them with relating circumſtances out of the Roman hiſtory, the duke of Feria cried out two or three times, "He is a great king." L'Etoile's Journal.

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1594. leave Paris, and retreat in full ſecurity. He treated the cardinals of Placentia and Pellevé with the ſame gentleneſs, notwithſtanding the reſentment he ſtill retained for their conduct with regard to him. Soiſſons was the place whither theſe enemies of the king * retired, protected by a ſtrong eſcort. His majeſty then publiſhed a general pardon † for all the French who had borne arms againſt him. When this ſacrifice is not extorted by neceſſity, but, on the contrary, made at a time when vengeance has full liberty to ſatiate itſelf, it is not one of the leaſt marks of a truly royal diſpoſition. Madam De ‡ Montpenſier being introduced to the king, he received her as politely, and converſed as familiarly with her, as if he had ſome very important reaſon for ſparing her the confuſion which any other perſon in his ſituation would have been fond of throwing her into ‖.

* The king had a mind to ſee them marchout, and looked at them from a window over St. Denis's gate. They all ſaluted him with their hats off, bowing profoundly low. The king, with great politeneſs, returned the ſalute to the principal officers, adding theſe words, "Remember me to your maſter; "go, I permit you, but return no "more." Peref. 2d part. This anecdote agrees with that in the Memoirs for the hiſtory of France; but is contradicted by the Journal written by the ſame author.

† All the Memoirs of thoſe times are filled with inſtances of Henry's clemency, and his ſprightly and agreeable repartees. See the Memoirs above cited. A leaguer coming to him one day when he was playing at primero, "You are "welcome," ſaid the king to him, "for if we win you will be ours." Le Grain, book x.

‡ Catherine-Maria of Lorrain, widow of Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Montpenſier.

‖ Perefix obſerves, that he played at cards with her that very evening. L'Etoile adds, that he returned both hers and madam De Nemours's viſit; and relates a very extraordinary converſation that paſſed between this prince and her; at the end of which, madam de Montpenſier, whoſe hatred for Henry was publicly known, taking notice of his entring Paris, ſhe wiſhed that it had been her brother the duke of Maïenne who had let down the bridge for his majeſty. "Ad-zokers, replied the king, "he might poſſibly have made me "wait a long time, and I ſhould "not have entered ſo early." This lady, purſued he, hearing the populace cry, *Long live the king*, ſaid, laughing, that Briſſac had done more than his wife, who in fifteen years had made but one cuckow ſing; whereas he, in eight days, had made more than twenty thouſand parrots ſing in Paris. L'Etoile, ann. 1594.

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The king had not yet found an opportunity to converſe with me upon the negotiations of Rouen; therefore that evening, when the croud of courtiers had quitted his apartment, he took me aſide to a window in the Louvre, and made me give him a circumſtantial relation of all that had paſſed, even to the minuteſt incidents; to which he liſtened with the utmoſt attention. He accuſed himſelf of being the cauſe of Du Roller's unſeaſonable attempt, by not acquainting me with the propoſals he had made him, which would have put me upon my guard againſt all that could have happened from that quarter. 1594.

The king had not yet mentioned to the duke of Montpenſier, or the baron De Biron, the conditions which, at their expence, he had granted to admiral Villars: and this was now all that perplexed him; for he conducted himſelf by quite different maxims from thoſe princes, who, in ſuch caſes, inſtead of ſubmitting to make uſe of prudent meaſures to pacify the murmurings they may expect, begin by ſilencing all complaint, and exact an unwilling obedience by the force of authority only. He ordered me to make him, in the preſence of theſe two noblemen, the ſame relation I had juſt now done, as if it were for the firſt time; and to give them to underſtand, that the concluſion of the treaty with Villars depended upon their ſacrificing to him their rights. This I performed exactly as we had concerted; after which the king, turning towards them, ſaid, with ſome emotion, that he would rather loſe Villars and Rouen both, than gain them by doing any injuſtice to two perſons whom he greatly eſteemed. Montpenſier and Biron were ſo affected with this manner of treating them, that they declared they would willingly reſign their pretenſions. Henry thanked them, and, as an equivalent, gave the firſt the governments of Perche and Maine, to be joined to that of Normandy, as ſoon as it ſhould be entirely reduced; but

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1594. but Villars's generosity changed this disposition: and to Biron a marechal's baton, with four hundred and twenty thousand livres in money, to indemnify him for his loss.

The reduction of Paris engaged the king in new affairs, which obliged him to delay still longer his journey to Rouen. He was employed in receiving the homage of all the different courts *, of the university, and other corporations of the city of Paris; whose early submission he thought he could not better reward, than by applying his cares to the restoring to them that harmony and regularity which the civil wars had interrupted. He had likewise answers to give to several governors of towns and fortresses, particularly of the isle of France, who, after the example of the capital, came to make their submissions to him.

Villeroi was not amongst the first: it was necessity alone, that either fixed his irresolution, or forced his inclinations. Some places † of little importance still held out for him and his son, with which, by means of Du-Plessis his friend, and Sancy ‡, whose daughter was just married to his son, he made very advantageous conditions for himself: after obtaining, by repeated importunities, two truces, the one of two months space, the other for three months; which he procured to be ratified by the duke of Maïenne; after having a long time affected a neutrality, and set a thousand springs in motion to protract, till the last extremity, his separation from his old friends, he at last concluded a treaty § almost after all the rest,

* The parliament of Paris was recalled from Tours, where it had been removed by letters patent from the king, dated the 28th of March, 1594.

† Pontoise, &c.

‡ Jaqueline de Harlay-Sancy.

§ This circumstance in our Memoirs is positively contradicted by De Thou, who says, book cviii. that Villeroi's treaty with the king was concluded long before, but that his majesty would not suffer it to be made public, because he was desirous that Villeroi should make use of his influence over the duke of Maïenne, to prevail upon him to join his party. Matthieu, in the places already quoted, is of the same opinion; and Cayet, who

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and obtained the poſt of ſecretary to the king, in recompenſe for that he had given up. 1594.

The day after the king's entry into Paris he thought proper to make me ſet out for Rouen, ſince he could not go thither himſelf. I arrived at that city on the 25th of March, bringing with me Vitry, at the head of three hundred men. La-Font received me at the gate of the city, and conducted me, with all my train, to the houſe that was prepared for my reception, which belonged to the ſieur De Martinbault, the fineſt in the whole town, and, by Villars's orders, furniſhed magnificently for me. Simon Antoine and La-Chapelle

likewiſe ſupports it elſewhere, does not contradict it by Villeroi's letter to the duke of Ma.enne, dated the 2d of January in the ſame year; although, in relating the purport of this letter, he caſts a kind of reproach upon this miniſter. In this letter, which was intercepted by the royaliſts, Villeroi, whoſe deſign was to inform the duke of Ma.enne beforehand of his treaty with Henry, which was going to be publiſhed, and to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to follow his example, adviſes Ma.enne to conſider in earneſt of a peace for the party in general, and himſelf in particular, "Becauſe," ſays he, "their cauſe is deſperate;" and adds, "We have loſt all confidence "in each other," &c. Cayet, book vi. pag. 293.

With the key that De Thou and other hiſtorians have given us to Villeroi's ſecret tranſactions with the chiefs of the league, and to the part he played by the king's order, the meaning of thoſe words which they would impute to him as a crime, is eaſily comprehended; and it is even plain, that in ſpeaking to the duke of Ma.enne he could not have expreſſed himſelf otherwiſe. Indeed if on this occaſion Villeroi could be charged with any fault, it was in not diſcovering a little more generoſity when he had ſo good an opportunity for it; for beſides thoſe rewards mentioned in our Memoirs, he procured the government of Lyons for Charles de Neufville, marquis of Alincourt, his ſon. But what French nobleman in thoſe times, or even what man, however little diſtreſſed in his circumſtances, could boaſt of being exempted from this reproach? Father de L'Etoile does not conceal the covetous and ſelfiſh diſpoſition of Villeroi. "Henry IV." ſays he in his Journal, "going one day, "with twelve or fifteen of his "courtiers, to partake of a ſlight "collation with Villeroi, ſaid to "them, when they were ſeated at "table, My friends, we are at an "ordinary, let us fare well for our "money, for we have an hoſt "that will make us pay dear for our "entertainment." I do not think it will be neceſſary for the future to obviate all thoſe invectives which the duke of Sully, in the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, throws upon a man who has been highly ſerviceable to this kingdom, till his death in the year 1617, having poſſeſſed the poſts of miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate under four ſucceſſive kings, Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.

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1594. did not approve of ſuch a remarkable diſtinction. They were yet ignorant of the treaty, but had taken ſo much umbrage at my firſt journey, that they made uſe of all their credit with the governor to prevail upon him to forbid my entrance into the city.

La-Font, who acquainted me with all their intrigues, appriſed me alſo, that they were that very night appointed to ſup with the governor; as were likewiſe the abbé Tiron, the preſident Boquemare, Medavy, and D'Hacqueville, two counſellors of the parliament, and ſome others. I was reſolved to take this opportunity to declare myſelf; and La-Font having aſſured me, that the admiral would not be diſpleaſed with any thing I did, I was willing to enjoy the confuſion of the two deputies from Spain and the league, by telling them what had juſt happened at Paris.

I went immediately to St. Ouen, where Villars was with all his gueſts; he was talking to the deputies at one end of the gallery when I entered; I did not ſcruple to interrupt their converſation, by running to embrace him, and told him I was come to invite myſelf to ſup with him, having ſome news to acquaint him with. Villars, after returning my embrace, pointing to the two deputies, as if he knew my intended ſcheme and acted in concert with me, told me cooly, that having ſo many people to ſup with him that night, he was afraid I ſhould not find the party well aſſorted. I replied, that I could accommodate myſelf to any ſet of company, and I was perſuaded (the animoſity of party aſide) thoſe two gentlemen would receive the news I had to tell them with pleaſure. The governor glancing a look at Simon Antoine, that deputy replied, with an eaſy air, that he would be very glad to hear how the king had treated the Spaniards and the two cardinals; adding encomiums on this prince, and compliments to me, with great art and politeneſs. "By what I ob-

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" ſerve, you will oblige me to treat you all," ſaid Villars; adding an apology for the meanneſs of his entertainment. 1594.

The reſt of the company approaching, the preſident Boquemare preſſed me to declare my news; but I would ſay nothing till we were ſeated. " I am," ſaid the admiral (placing himſelf firſt at the middle of the table) " a very bad maſter of the ceremonies." I was reſolved not to uſe any with Don Simon, who I knew did not want ambition, which was likewiſe ſupported by his rank; leſt therefore he ſhould accept, on a bare compliment, of the chief place, which, on an occaſion, when I repreſented the king's perſon, might have had ſome conſequence, I ſeated myſelf, without any ceremony, at the head of the table, telling the Spaniſh deputy, that if our own perſons only were concerned, I would willingly pay him what I thought due to a ſtranger of his merit: to which he anſwered with great politeneſs. La-Chapelle obſerving to him, that the place I held at table was a type of that the king poſſeſſed now at Paris, and that things only followed their natural courſe, " I perceive it," ſaid the Spaniard, " and " I am afraid this precedence is but a bad augury " for us; however, it ſhall not hinder us from " being merry, and drinking to the health of our " maſters, who are not enemies, ſince there is no " war declared between them." This anſwer was equally wiſe and politic; and, during the whole repaſt, the Spaniard ſupported his part of the converſation with great ſpirit and underſtanding, ſeemed charmed with the king's fine qualities, and praiſed him particularly for the clemency with which he acted towards his enemies, whether foreigners or French. I took notice that Tiron, and a prieſt named Dadré *, were ſilent while this ſubject was diſcuſſed.

The whole company either were, or ſeemed to be, highly pleaſed with the entertainment of the

* John Dadré, penitentiary of the church of Rouen.

evening.

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1594. evening. When we broke up, Villars, as he attended me out, intreated me not to visit him next day, which he would employ in getting rid, some way or other, of his deputies. He knew not yet how these two men intended to take their leave of him, but told me, that if I wanted to be informed of it, I need only spend the afternoon with madam De Simiers: there I learned, that Villars had been closeted three whole hours with the two agents; that they had made use of reproaches, and very harsh language to him. But this governor was not a man to be easily intimidated or induced to alter his resolution; he told them plainly, that he had concluded a treaty with the king, therefore it was necessary they should retire without delay, either to Soissons, or to the duke of Maïenne, whither he would grant them a safe-conduct, the only favour he had now in his power to bestow. There was a necessity for coming to this extremity with them: and Villars took care to guard against the effect of their resentment, by giving orders for the newly arrived troops to enter Rouen; with which he took possession of the palace, the fort, and the castle. This done, he sent La-Font to me, to tell me, that the next day, at my first request, he would declare himself for the king, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the city, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose, with all the form and ceremony that might make this action more solemn.

I never experienced a more perfect satisfaction than what arose from the reflection of having done the king and kingdom so considerable a service; nor enjoyed a more tranquil sleep than that which the succeeding night afforded me. The next morning early I hastened to Villars, at St. Ouen, whom I found walking in the great square, whither he had come an hour before, and which, as well as all the principal streets, was filled with such a prodigious concourse of people, drawn thither by the report of the deputies departure, and the new ceremony, that

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that Perdriel, D'Iſencourt, La-Font, and the ſoldiers whom the governor had ſent to attend me, could with difficulty open me a paſſage: the joy was general, and diffuſed itſelf on every face. 1594.

I went up to the admiral, with whom I found the baron de Medavy and the preſident Boquemare: after the accuſtomed ſalutations were over, I told him, that the king being now a good catholic, it was time he ſhould give him ſome teſtimonies of his duty and zeal. Villars replied, that in his heart he was already faithfully devoted to his majeſty's ſervice; and that if, to make an open profeſſion of it, nothing more was neceſſary than to put on the white ſcarf, he was ready to receive it at my hand. I took one out of my pocket; and Villars had no ſooner put it on, than, without further thought, "Come on," cried he, with a tranſport which marked his character, the league is, to cry *Long live the king*. The profound ſilence that had been held during our conference, was now interrupted at this word by an univerſal acclamation of *Long live the king:* at the ſame inſtant, the ringing of the great bell, with all the others in the city; the diſcharge of all the artillery from the fort and other places; added to this general ſhout a noiſe capable of inſpiring terror, if the joy which dilated every heart had permitted them to perceive, that there was not a houſe in the city that was not ſhook by it. "The ſound of theſe "bells," ſaid I to the governor, "ſuggeſts to us "to go and give thanks to God in the church of "Nôtre Dame." Accordingly, *Te Deum* was ſung there with great ſolemnity, and followed by the celebration of the maſs, at the beginning of which I retired. As ſoon as it was over, Villars took me up in his coach, and carried me to a magnificent entertainment, to which the ſovereign courts, all the officers of the army and magiſtrates of the city were invited. Orders were ſent to Verneuil, Pontaudemer, Havre, where the chevalier D'Oiſe

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1594. D'Oiſe * commanded, and to all thoſe places that acknowledged the admiral's authority, to follow the example of the capital.

It was my firſt care, as ſoon as I was at leiſure, to inform the king of what had juſt happened, and to intreat him to ſend ſome of his counſellors to re-eſtabliſh the parliament. The next day the citizens came in a body to thank me for my ſervices, and to bring me their preſent, which conſiſted of a ſide-board of plate, gilt and finely wrought, of upwards of three thouſand crowns value; which I was obliged to accept, notwithſtanding all my endeavours to the contrary. It was not long before my courier returned with diſpatches from his majeſty: he brought a letter for admiral Villars, in which the king ſtyled him his couſin, admiral, governor in chief of Rouen, Havre, &c. and invited him to come to court in terms which promiſed him a moſt gracious reception: that which was for me contained an order to return as ſoon as poſſible.

The admiral, who would not appear there till he had an equipage ſuitable to his rank and dignities, took time to prepare himſelf; as for me, I ſet out before, and lay the firſt night at Louviers, where I had the following adventure with Bois-roſé, whom I did not know.

This gentleman having learned by public report that the king had given Villars the fort of Feſcamp, and heard no mention made of any recompence that was to be beſtowed upon him, reſolved to complain of this hardſhip to the king; and having occaſion for the protection and countenance of ſome governor who was known to his majeſty, came to Louviers a few moments after my arrival, to get a letter of recommendation from Du Rollet. He alighted at the ſame inn which I had choſen, and was told that a gentleman was juſt come, who by his train, and the diſcourſe of his domeſtics, ap-

* George de Brancas Villars, chevalier D'Oire, the admiral's brother.

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peared to be in great favour at court: my name they did not mention. Bois-rosé believing me to be still at Rouen, could not know it but by inspiration, and did not hesitate a moment in preferring the protection of this lord to Du Rollet's. He entered my chamber, and after making himself known, told me, that he had great reason to complain of a nobleman of the court, called the baron De Rosny, who, abusing his master's favour, had sacrificed him, as well as the duke De Montpensier, and marechal Biron, to admiral Villars his old friend. He afterwards explained his demands, but with so much emotion, so many oaths and menaces against this baron De Rosny, that I was never so well diverted in my life, as at the figure I made on this occasion. 1594.

When he had vented all his rage, I told him that I was well enough acquainted with the affair he mentioned to me, to assure him, that the baron De Rosny durst not have done any thing in it but by the king's express command; and that his majesty would not fail to repair his loss of Fescamp, by a recompence wherewith he would have reason to be contented. I did not think it necessary to carry my civility so far as to promise him to serve his resentment against that baron of whom he complained so bitterly; on the contrary, I told him that if he knew the baron De Rosny, he would confess that a man who, for the good of the state, voluntarily resigned his abbey of Saint-Taurin, could only be influenced by necessity to do what he attributed to injustice. I took leave of him saying, that I should be glad to see him when I arrived at court, where I promised to speak to the king concerning him, and to obtain the equivalent he demanded for the loss of Fescamp. Bois-rosé went away as much pleased with me as dissatisfied with the baron De Rosny; but having enquired my name of one of my pages, whom he met at the bottom of the stair-case, he was thunderstruck to

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1594. hear the name of a man whom he had talked of in such harsh terms to himself; so that being apprehensive of the resentment he supposed I entertained against him, he mounted his horse again instantly, went to another inn, and set out with all possible expedition for Paris, that he might get thither before me, and secure himself against the bad offices he expected from me, by some powerful protector.

The adventure did not end here. While Bois-rosé took precautions against me as an irreconcilable enemy, I with more tranquility pursued my route by Mante, from whence I brought my wife to Paris. The first thing I did after my arrival, was to wait on the king, and give him an account of my journey. He, according to his usual custom, obliged me to inform him of the minutest particulars. After having exhausted every thing that was serious, I was willing to divert him with the scene at Louviers; for Bois-rosé had taken no notice of that, and had only conjured his majesty not to be prejudiced by what I might say against him, on account of an ancient quarrel between us. The king laughed heartily at the adventure of Bois-rosé. I sent for him, and he finding I was the person to whom he was referred, believed his affairs desperate: I enjoyed his uneasiness and perplexity for some time, and afterwards drew him out of it in a manner that surprised him greatly. I solicited warmly in his favour, and obtained for him a pension of twelve thousand livres a year, a company with an appointment, and two thousand crowns in hand. He had not hoped for so much; but, his blustering apart, I looked upon him as an officer of great courage and resolution; and afterwards bound him more closely to me, and thought him worthy of the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, in Normandy, when the king had made me grand master of it.

I concealed nothing from the king of all that had happened to me at Rouen, except the present of the side-board of gilt plate. He was astonished one

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one morning to see it brought into his chamber. I told him, that, having in vain endeavoured to hinder the city of Rouen from making me this present, I came to bring it to his majesty, as a thing which belonged to him, since I had bound myself by a solemn vow, never on such occasions to accept of any gift from his subjects, while I continued in his service. 1594.

And here it seems not improper to declare my reasons for this conduct, which I am persuaded will not be thought a well concerted stratagem to gain greater riches; for although the rewards I received from the king were very considerable, and even surpassed my expectations, it will be readily allowed that a man, who for so long a time had almost the sole management of the finances and the army, was able to enrich himself by a much shorter method. It is not necessary that I should name it; the past age has afforded but too many examples of it; and notwithstanding all my endeavours to introduce a contrary custom, the future I doubt will supply many more.

Interest therefore being out of the question, my resolution to avoid receiving any obligations will be placed to the score of vanity. Against this imputation I can offer only a simple assurance, but a very sincere one; that I acted thus from no other motive, than the desire of teaching those who might succeed me in the conduct of affairs, that in this respect there is no difference between them and such as are set over the distribution of justice; for if a judge who appears willing to receive presents, even without any intention of being influenced by them, is looked upon with abhorrence, a minister, and any man invested with a public employment, renders himself equally guilty, who willingly receives gifts, which those who bestow, have always in view the indemnifying themselves some time or other, either at the king's or the people's expence. If we cannot depend on the rectitude of intention

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1594. of thoſe who make us theſe preſents, (it is to my ſucceſſors that I addreſs myſelf now) much leſs can we on our own who receive them; and let us accuſtom ourſelves to regard as two things which can never be reconciled, our maſter's profit, and our own, unleſs, as I have obſerved before, it ſhould be himſelf who beſtows gifts on us; and his liberality will always go ſo far as to leave us no cauſe to complain of him upon this account, after we have been able to convince him that our expectations are confined to him alone. But unfortunately, being accuſtomed to calculate and to ſee immenſe ſums paſs through our hands, we are led inſenſibly to conſider as a ſmall matter thoſe that ſuffiſe to raiſe a fortune for one individual.

The king did not ſcruple to own that he was not uſed to this ſort of reaſoning; and that if this ſyſtem, ſimple as it was, could be once eſtabliſhed in the finances, it would be a ſure method of enriching both the king and the ſtate; a method that before and ſince has been ardently ſought for in vain. He would not have accepted the ſide-board, but to accommodate himſelf to my way of thinking, by obliging me to take it from his hand. This preſent became publicly known, becauſe he granted me a writing *, in which it was ſpecified, that this ſide-board was a preſent made by the city of Rouen to his majeſty, who had beſtowed it upon me; and the next day this prince ſent me three thouſand crowns, in his own ſtrong box, to make

* Roſny's diſpoſition agreed perfectly well with the king's. When he truſted the finances to his care, he deſired him to receive no preſent whatever without his knowledge; and when Roſny informed him of any that were offered to him, the king immediately permitted him to accept of them, being ſo deſirous that he ſhould find his advantage in ſerving him faithfully, that he often added gifts of his own to thoſe perquiſites, to encourage him to perſevere in his integrity. But Roſny never received them till they were duly regiſtered in the chamber of accounts, that every one might know the bounty of this prince towards him; by which means he would avoid the reproach of abuſing his favour to empty his coffers. Peref. pag. 227. This writer as well as the reſt of the world were, through the duke of Sully's modeſty at that time, ignorant that he himſelf was the contriver of this judicious ſcheme.

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me ſenſible that ſuch an action in a miniſter ſhould not go unrewarded. I now fulfil his views by informing the public of this double donation. 1594.

Admiral Villars appeared ſoon after at court, with a train of more than an hundred gentlemen, ſome of whom were of the greateſt families in France; but people ſoon drew off their attention from the magnificence of his horſes, and the grandeur of his equipages, to fix it upon his generoſity and modeſty, in which indeed true riches conſiſt, although they are ſeldom poſſeſſed by the ſame perſon. He approached the king with an air perfectly noble, yet full of the deepeſt reſpect, and threw himſelf at his feet. "Admiral," ſaid the king, in pain at this poſture, and raiſing him haſtily, "ſuch ſubmiſſion is due only to God;" and reſolving to elevate as much as the admiral had humbled himſelf, he began to expatiate to the courtiers upon the great actions which Villars had performed, and did it with a diſcernment ſo juſt as gave them new merit. The admiral, by proteſtations of reſpect, and devotion to his ſervice, endeavoured to ſtop the courſe of thoſe praiſes; and afterwards perceiving the duke of Montpenſier, he went up to him, and, kiſſing his hand, acknowledged him his ſuperior, reſigning to him his government of Rouen with ſo good a grace, that this prince, who had at firſt received him coldly, being charmed with his generoſity, embraced him ſeveral times; and from that moment received him into the number of his moſt valued friends.

The months of April and May were employed in the ſame manner by the king and his council, in receiving deputies from the different cities and governors, who came to treat upon conditions for ſurrendering. Thoſe of Lyons and Poitiers were the moſt conſiderable. A ſtrange fall for the duke of Nemours*! This ambitious man ſuffered the

* Charles Emanuel of Savoy, duke of Nemours, ſon of James, and Anne D'Eſt, widow of Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe.

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1594. chimerical project of making himself king of France, by marrying the Infanta of Spain, to employ his mind; which the public hatred, and the opposition of his own brother, the duke of Maïenne, obliging him to renounce, he soon consoled himself for this disappointment, by erecting, in idea, a principality composed of the provinces of Lyonnois, Beaujolois, Forêt, Maconnois, and Dombes, which he was to hold of Spain. He began by endeavouring to make sure of the capital of his new kingdom, but the Lyonnois *, more subtil than he, took care to secure the person of their pretended sovereign, who treated them already like a tyrant; and considering him in that light, kept him confined, without any intention however of breaking with the party. The league was offended at the affront offered to one of their leaders; and Saint Sorlin †, the duke of Nemour's youngest brother, interesting Spain in his cause, obtained from the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Terra Nova, governor of Milan, a powerful supply of forces, with which he fell upon the Lyonnois. This violence determined them to separate openly for the league; and calling in colonel D'Ornano to their assistance, they declared openly for the king, pulled down and dragged the arms and colours of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours in the dirt, burnt with insulting raillery, in the public square, the effigies of a woman, in the habit of a sorceress, with this inscription on her forehead, *The league*; and allowed

* Perefix supposes the duke of Maïenne himself to be the author of the revolt of Lyons, it being his design to snatch this city out of the hands of his half brother. What the duke of Sully says here of the duke of Nemours, ought not to hinder us from doing him justice in other respects: he is allowed by all the historians, to have possessed very great and amiable qualities, both of mind and person, and to have been one of the most deserving noblemen in all France. See his panegyric, and that of the marquis de Saint Sorlin, his brother, in the third vol. of the Memoirs of Brantome, under the article of monsieur De Nemours, p. 23. and following; and the account of the affairs of Lyons, in Cayet, book vi. fol. 299, and other historians.

† Henry de Savoy-Nemours, marquis of Saint Sorlin.

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only three months time to all the little towns dependant upon Lyons, to return to their duty. 1594.

The duke of Nemours remained in great perplexity during this tumult; and apprehending ſomething worſe than confinement from his pretended ſubjects, to effect his eſcape, put on the habit of his valet de chambre, whom he reſembled in his ſtature, and going out of his apartment with his cloſe-ſtool pan in his hand, paſſed through the antechamber where the guards were, without being known, becauſe he turned his face aſide, as if to avoid the bad ſmell; from thence he ſtole into the ſtreet, and gained the fields; too happy, after ſo much imaginary grandeur, to abandon, like a fugitive, a city which he had deſtined for the ſeat of his glory; and convinced by ſad experience of a truth to which we are always blind, that there is nothing ſo difficult as to make effects anſwer our deſires.

Ambition made alſo another madman. Balagny * ſeeing himſelf governor of Cambray, a place by its ſituation of great importance for the king, had the boldneſs to demand his title of governor to be changed into that of ſovereign prince, and the misfortune to obtain his requeſt. Hence he flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſee his name increaſe the catalogue of crowned heads, and forgot that he wanted means to maintain himſelf in that elevated rank. He maintained it, or thought to have done ſo, by exhauſting his purſe to appear with magnificence at court, and to ſend to the ſiege of Laon two thouſand arquebuſiers, and three hundred horſe. But the glory of this new potentate was of ſhort duration; he, as well as Nemours, ſplit upon the common rock ſo fatal to ambitious men, who can never be perſuaded to believe, that the beſt concerted ſchemes are thoſe which afford only moderate advantages, but thoſe advantages

* John De Montluc, baſtard of John De Montluc, biſhop of Valence.

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1594. ſubjected to no changes, and ſecured from all dangers.

The Spaniards ſeeing that in the center of the kingdom every thing ſlipped through their hands, reſolved to ſtop the torrent by ſome important blow, and laid ſiege to La-Capelle. The king did not balance a moment upon the neceſſity of leaving all his domeſtic affairs, to go and prevent the reduction of this place. His ſoldiers however were not in the ſame diſpoſition; weary of war, they ſought only to loſe the remembrance of it in retirement and eaſe: ſo much time therefore was waſted before the king could draw his army together, that although he marched before with a ſmall body of troops, yet he came too late; he found the ſiege ſo far advanced, and the count of Mansfield who commanded it, ſo advantageouſly poſted, that, weak as he was, he could not venture to force him. But the place being of great ſtrength, he flattered himſelf that the governor would hold out long enough to give time to the reſt of the troops to join him, and then he would be in a condition either to throw ſuccours into the place, or force the beſiegers to a battle. But this governor, following the maxim of thoſe times, attentive only to his own profit in every thing, had been ſo ſparing of proviſions, ammunition, and ſoldiers, to man his garriſon, that he was obliged to ſurrender much ſooner than with a contrary conduct he need to have done, and thus ſaw himſelf ruined by his avarice.

The king, by way of repriſal, inveſted Laon *: he was not ignorant that the league had put this place, already ſo ſtrong by its ſituation and fortifications, into a condition ſufficient to make whoever attacked it repent of his attempt. Du Bourg †

* In Picardy.

† He choſe rather to go out of the Baſtile, of which he was governor, publicly with the black ſcarf, than to receive a bribe to put it into the king's hands. F. de L'Etoile. Cayet, vol. II. pag. 691. He was called Antony Du

was

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was governor of it; one of the beſt and moſt experienced officers the duke of Maïenne had in his army: the duke's ſecond ſon, the count of Sommerive *, with a great number of the nobility, was ſhut up there. The king therefore, conſidering that, on this occaſion, he had his military reputation to ſuſtain, a reputation to which he owed all his ſucceſs, neglected no care or attention, to accompliſh his enterpriſe. 1594.

I attended him joyfully to this ſiege, and was charged, according to my taſte, with the direction of a battery of ſix pieces of cannon, conjointly with the elder De Born †, who, in quality of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, had the conduct of it in the abſence of the count de la Guich ‡ grand maſter, and conſented to take me for his collegue. Scarce had I taken poſſeſſion of my new employment, when I was obliged to abandon it. The king was informed by letters from Paris, that the count d'Auvergne §, with d'Entragues, his father-in-law, had begun thoſe ſecret practices againſt him which afterwards had like to have brought him to a ſcaffold; and that many diſaffected and ſeditious perſons daily reſorted to Paris. A violent diſpute had likewiſe juſt commenced, between the univerſity and curates of Paris, on one ſide, and the jeſuits on the other; which, in a government yet hardly eſtabliſhed, might produce dangerous conſequences.

Maine, ſurnamed Du Bourg or L'Eſpinaſſe.

* Charles Emmanuel of Lorraine, count of Sommerive.

† John De Durefort, lord De Born.

‡ Philibert de La Guich, governor of Lyons, was made grand maſter of the ordnance in the year 1578, in the room of the marechal De Biron.

§ He will be mentioned in the ſequel. Charles of Valois, duke of Angouleme, grand prior of France, ſon of Charles IX. and of Mary Touchet, lady of Belleville, daughter of the lieutenant particulier of Orleans. She died in the year 1638, aged 89 years, and the duke of Angouleme in 1639. He was ſon-in-law to Francis de Balzac, Lord of Entragues, who by his marriage with Mary Touchet, had Henrietta De Balzac, marchioneſs of Verneuil, miſtreſs of Henry IV. and half ſiſter to the count of Auvergne.

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1594. This news convinced his majeſty that there was a neceſſity for having a vigilant and faithful agent in that great city; yet he delayed mentioning the affair to me, becauſe he knew well that I ſhould not be pleaſed with an employment which would oblige me to leave the ſiege. However, a letter which I received from the cardinal of Bourbon, and which I could not avoid ſhewing him, determined him to propoſe it to me. The cardinal, without giving a particular account of what had happened at Paris, only expreſſed himſelf ardently deſirous of ſeeing me, upon affairs of great importance, which he ſaid I only could ſucceed in. Although all this had only the air of a compliment, yet his majeſty thought he ought not to neglect this advice: and had theſe affairs related only to the cardinal, the king had ſo many motives for being ſolicitous about him, that when he had read this letter, he commanded me to prepare for returning to Paris; which I obeyed, but with great regret at quitting the ſiege. There was a neceſſity to fill up the employment I left vacant with a man whoſe fidelity could be depended upon. I named to his majeſty Vignoles, Parabere *, and Trigny, and he choſe Parabere. I flattered myſelf that when the affairs which called me to Paris were terminated, I ſhould return to Laon; and I was reſolved to uſe all poſſible expedition with them; but they were ſucceeded by others, and that ſo ſoon, that from the end of May to the beginning of Auguſt, which was the time this ſiege laſted, all I could ſee of it was in thoſe little excurſions I ſometimes made thither from Paris; therefore my account of it will be equally interrupted.

Having received the king's laſt inſtructions for my journey, I ſet out, and reached Crêpy the firſt

* John de Baudean de Parabere.

night,

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night, where I lay, and the next day arrived at Paris. I waited upon the cardinal immediately, and found him * very ill, and as much weakened in mind as body: he embraced me tenderly, and diſcovered great joy at ſeeing me; then ordering his chamber to be cleared, made me ſit down by his bedſide, that I might hear the many important things he had to ſay to me. Thoſe he began with gave me no great opinion of the reſt; but they were ſuch as ſat neareſt his heart, although they conſiſted only of domeſtic uneaſineſſes, and female quarrels, which I am almoſt aſhamed to entertain the public with. A certain lady, named madam De Roſieres, was the cauſe of them. The cardinal, either through jealouſy, or a diſturbed imagination, had taken into his head, that ſhe haſtened his death by magic, to be revenged on him for ſowing diſſenſion between her and the abbé De Bellozanne, her favourite: his only conſolation was, that if he did not die, his murdereſs would. My wife had informed him that this madam De Roſieres was dangerouſly ill; and probably it was upon this information that he had formed his whole dream of magic and death. 1594.

He imparted all theſe ſecrets to me with ſuch apparent dejection, that I did not doubt but the full poſſeſſion, which theſe extravagant notions had taken of his mind, contributed in a great meaſure to haſten his death. I endeavoured to bring him back to reaſon; and he at laſt was able to ſpeak to me of his other affairs, which he had like to have forgot. Next to madam De Roſieres, the king was the perſon of whom he complained with greateſt bitterneſs; for his mind was in ſuch a ſtate, that he inveighed moſt againſt thoſe whom he loved the beſt. He had aſked the king's permiſſion to diſpoſe of his benefices; and his majeſty, he ſaid,

* The moment he perceived himſelf ill, he departed from Gaillon, and came to St. Genevieve, and afterwards to his fine houſe of the abbey of St. Germain, according to De Thou, book cix.

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1594. had not received his requeſt very favourably, which, he added, could only be occaſioned by this prince's not having any regard for him, or that he was not ſincerely attached to the catholic religion; (for how indeed could he be a good catholic, and diſoblige a cardinal?) Afterwards, without conſidering whom it was he was ſpeaking to, he intreated me to defend the romiſh religion to the king, to confirm him in it, to prevail upon him to keep up a cloſe correſpondence with the pope, to demand the holy father's benediction, that he might afterwards obtain of him the diſſolution of his marriage with queen Margaret of Valois, and be at liberty to marry another princeſs, by whom he might have children who would ſecure the crown to the houſe of Bourbon, and peace and tranquility to France. The end of this diſcourſe was much more judicious than I had reaſon to expect: nor was the pope's panegyric improperly introduced in it; for it muſt be confeſſed that Clement the eighth was not only poſſeſſed of great wiſdom and juſtice, but alſo ſo good a politician, that the court of Madrid could never boaſt of having deceived him by their artifices.

The cardinal afterwards brought the affair of the jeſuits upon the carpet; and although, as a man devoted to the court of Rome, he openly favoured them, yet the arguments he made uſe of to prevail upon me to ſupport them, were founded upon policy and the intereſt of the king, and ſo judicious, that I was convinced his underſtanding was not impaired by ſickneſs, but only on occaſions where he was perſonally concerned. All the ſteps I took in that affair were in conſequence of his eminence's prudent reflections on the danger of baniſhing the whole ſociety from France in ſuch a conjuncture; for, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, nothing leſs was in agitation.

A fourth affair, which he recommended to me, was to ſupport, againſt the ſuperintendant, the old arch-

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archbiſhop of Glaſgow in Ireland, whom he loved and honoured as if he had been a near relation. This archbiſhop bore the name of Bethune *. The queen of Scotland his benefactreſs being dead, all he now deſired was to ſpend the ſhort remnant of his life in peace, far from his native country: but in the ſuperintendant he found an enemy, to whoſe perſecutions he was perpetually expoſed, and who ſeemed reſolved to drive him, if poſſible, out of France. I never could diſcover the true cauſe of this hatred; perhaps it was owing to the attachment this prelate always ſhewed to the family of the Guiſes, from whom the queen ‡ of Scotland his miſtreſs was deſcended. The cardinal ſaid, that it had no other foundation than the intereſt he took in whatever concerned the archbiſhop: and it is certain that, as often as his eminence ſolicited the ſuperintendant in favour of the old prelate, he ſeemed to be more eagerly bent upon his deſtruction. The cardinal therefore intreated me to prevail upon the king to take the archbiſhop under his protection: he had promiſed to have no concern, for the future, in any affairs, either within 1594.

* James de Bethune, archbiſhop of Glaſcow, or Glaſgow, in Scotland, and not in Ireland, came to Paris in quality of ambaſſador in ordinary from the queen of Scotland, and died there in the year 1603, aged eighty-ſix years; having, during fifty-ſeven years, ſuffered great viciſſitudes of fortune, after the murder of cardinal De Bethune, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, his uncle, which happened in the year 1546. His epitaph may be ſtill ſeen in the church of St. John of Latran. Amelot de la Houſſaye, in his Memoirs, mentions the proceſs that Nicholas Denetz, biſhop of Orleans, had with Maximilian Francis, duke of Sully, in which it appears that they unjuſtly diſputed the right this family had to the name of Bethune. "However this may be," ſaid he, ſpeaking of this archbiſhop, "the "family of Betun in Scotland, "from whence were deſcended the "cardinal archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and the archbiſhop of "Glaſgow, ambaſſador from queen "Mary Stuart in France, where "he died in 1660, or 1601 (here "is an error in the date) is ac"knowledged by meſſieurs De Sul"ly, and De Charoſt, for a branch "of their houſe." Vol. II. p. 68. Therefore, according to our Memoirs, both the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and the archbiſhop of St. Andrews' true name was Bethune, and not Betun.

‡ Mary of Lorrain, daughte of Claude duke of Guiſe, married in the year 1530 to James Stuart king of Scotland.

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1594. or without the kingdom: indeed he was no longer capable of it, nor could his conduct be justly reproached with any fault. To gain me entirely over to his interests, the cardinal told me that this archbishop had so great an affection for me, that he wept continually for my unhappiness in being educated in the protestant religion.

He resumed again the subject of his benefices, with which he concluded his discourse; and earnestly intreated me to obtain for him his majesty's permission to resign them, confessing that the possession of these benefices had given dreadful uneasiness to the deceased cardinal his uncle, from whom he had them, as well as to himself, some of them having been forcibly taken from families who were the lawful proprietors of them; and his eminence thought he should make a sufficient atonement both for himself and his uncle, and pacify his conscience, by restoring them to the injured persons after his death. He had finished all he had to say to me, when his physician entered the chamber. Duret *, for it was he, having recommended silence to his patient, took upon himself the care of acquainting me with all the secrets of the cardinal, whose confidence he possessed; and he acquitted himself of this task like a man who had a great opinion of his own eloquence, for he wearied me sufficiently. I made no other answer to his tedious harangue, than reiterated promises of serving his eminence.

During the three days which I passed at Paris, I was sufficiently convinced of the dangerous correspondences carried on by the count D'Auvergne, D'Entragues, and his wife. Their house was the rendezvous for all the king's enemies, either in the league or the Spanish party: every night they held secret councils against the king's interest and service. Till I should have an opportunity of conferring with his majesty upon the measures neces-

* Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry,

sary

sary to be taken to suppress this wicked cabal, 1594.
represented to messieurs De Chiverny †, De Pontcarré, De Bellievre, and De Maisse, that they could not watch too narrowly the motions of these disaffected persons; and I particularly recommended it to Maisse, whose diligence I was well acquainted with.

I afterwards applied myself with a particular attention to the affair of the jesuits, against whom a process was actually commenced before the parliament, and vigorously pursued by the university and curates of Paris, who accused them with having monopolized to themselves the education of the youth, and the direction of consciences; represented them as a society very pernicious to the state; and proposed their being banished as such from all the dominions of France. It was far from being certain, that all these enemies of the society would triumph over them, even if the king should not interpose his authority. The jesuits, on this occasion, exerted all their power. The party was already so well supported, that, without laying any stress upon the pope, Spain, and their partisans in the league *, who were not few, one half of the parliament was on their side, and openly solicited in their favour. The cause was at last put into the hands of counsel in the highest fame at the bar: the jesuits retained Duret, and Versoris; and their adversaries Arnaud and Dollé. In Paris nothing was talked of but these two powerful factions.

I reflected upon what the cardinal de Bourbon had represented to me, That there was no extremity to which this order would not proceed, sti-

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny or Cheverny, lord chancellor of France. — Camus de Pontcarré, master of requests. Pomponne de Bellievre. Andrew Aurault Sieur de Maisse; in the following year he was made embassador to Venice.

* The cardinal of Bourbon, the superintendant D'O, Antony Séguire, king's advocate, and a great many others, publicly solicited for the jesuits.

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1594. mulated either by revenge, or by the hope of forcing us to repeal their baniſhment: That by their intrigues they might animate part of Europe againſt us, make their perſecution be looked upon as an injury offered to religion itſelf, and bring the king under a ſuſpicion of being ſecretly attached to that which he had juſt quitted; which, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, might have very dangerous conſequences, Clement VIII. not having yet been able to reſolve upon granting the abſolution ſolicited for at Rome; the king being engaged in one of thoſe enterpriſes, the event of which is always ſo uncertain, and often ſo dangerous; and, in a word, the catholics who had moſt power in the kingdom, as well thoſe who were at Paris, as thoſe that filled the court, fearing, or ſeeming to fear, for their own intereſt, that they had not yet ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of the romiſh religion in France. I was ſenſible that meſſieurs De * Longueville, Nevers, and Biron, had publicly expreſſed themſelves to this purpoſe, and had uſed all their endeavours to communicate their apprehenſions to the cardinal of Bourbon, by means of D'Entragues, D'Humiers, Des Sourdis, and others. It is not my deſign to impute here any bad intention to theſe perſons; but it is certain, that amongſt theſe zealous catholics there were few who were not actuated by a motive like that of Biron, who did not propagate theſe ſort of diſcourſes till he had loſt all hope of obtaining the government of Laon.

Be this as it will, prudence, I thought, required that the authority of the abſent king ſhould not be expoſed for a quarrel between prieſts and theologiſts: and did not doubt but his majeſty, in ſuch a caſe, would chuſe the moſt moderate ſide. I therefore declared to the council, that the king did not think the accuſations, which were brought againſt the jeſuits, of ſufficient importance to authoriſe any harſh treatment of them; and that his

* Henry D'Orleans, duke of Longueville.

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majeſty would be determined by their future behaviour to the ſtate and himſelf, whether he ſhould baniſh them, or permit them to continue in France: and that till he had given more poſitive orders concerning them, he abſolutely forbad any violent proceedings againſt thoſe fathers; that no invectives ſhould be permitted in the pleadings againſt them; and even that their cauſe ſhould be tried in full court. No perſon expected to find in me a protector of the jeſuits; and I may ſay, without vanity, that my recommendation of them at that time would not have been uſeleſs, although I had not ſtrengthened it with the king's authority. In effect, no farther progreſs was made in this affair. 1594.

The reſpect I owed to the cardinal of Bourbon made me reſolve to ſpeak to the ſuperintendant in favour of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow; though I knew well what I had to expect from a man ſo little ſolicitous to conceal the hatred he bore to my whole family, and which a late quarrel with my youngeſt brother had augmented. I hoped to find more juſtice from the king, and I haſtened to join him at Laon, after taking leave of the cardinal, who continued ſtill extremely ill.

At Bruyeres, where I had left my field equipage, I learned, that the duke of Maïenne, being in conſtant expectation of a great army, which count Charles of Mansfield was to bring him, had advanced with ſome troops as far as La-Fere, and twice attempted to throw a ſupply of one hundred horſe and two hundred arquebuſiers into Laon; that the firſt was defeated by Givry, and the ſecond by the count of Soiſſons, whoſe turn it was that day to guard the trench: that the king gave always a glorious example to the princes and officers, and mounted guard in the trenches in his turn.

His majeſty was in bed when I arrived at his quarters, although it was three o'clock in the afternoon: he aſked me if I was not ſurpriſed to find

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1594. him in bed at such an hour: this bed, however, was only two mattresses upon the bare ground. All night, and the preceding day, this prince had been standing at the trench, where he was employed in directing works to be made in the mountain, upon the declivity of which Laon is situated, either to change the place of some batteries, or to shelter the workmen by parapets. He was so greatly fatigued standing upon the ground, which was extremely rugged, that several contusions rose in his feet, which did not, however, hinder him from staying to see the work carried on till all these contusions bursting, each of his feet became one continued wound, which obliged him to be put to bed, and some dressings to be applied to them; these he ordered to be changed in my presence, "That you may be convinced," said he, "I do "not act the sick man unseasonably." I was very far, indeed, from entertaining such a thought, and if I accused him of any thing, it was of the contrary excess. I believe he perceived it; for seeking, as it were, to justify himself, he told me, that he was under a necessity of undertaking and superintending this work, which would give him two days advance upon the besieged city; and that I would not condemn him after I had seen it, or, at least, heard an account of it from the connoisseurs whom he had sent to visit it, and whose return he expected at five o'clock.

I took advantage of this opportunity of being alone with the king to give him an account of my journey, which I did, kneeling on a cushion which he made me bring to the bedside. His majesty, desirous of authorising what I had done, ordered Beaulieu-Rusé to write three letters instantly; the first, which was addressed to the chancellor, regarded the jesuits, and contained only a repetition of what I had said. In the second, he informed D'O, that it was his intention the archbishop of

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Glaſgow ſhould enjoy the only two abbeys * he had in France peaceably, and juſtified this prelate's paſt conduct by the gratitude he owed his benefactreſs. The third, to the cardinal of Bourbon, was written in the name of Loménie, ſecretary of ſtate, who made known to his eminence, that the king would approve of the diſpoſition he ſhould make of his benefices, and was ready to ratify it, by ſigning himſelf the form he ſhould ſend him, provided he found in it nothing contrary to the canons, the liberties, and cuſtoms of the kingdom. He concluded this letter with an aſſurance of his protection and friendſhip; and as a proof of his confidence, ſent the two others under cover to him, that he might tranſmit them himſelf to the perſons they were directed to; and had the complaiſance to acquaint him with the contents. I deſired Du-Peirat, whom the king ſent with theſe three letters to Paris, to deliver one from me to the cardinal, in which I exhorted him, by every thing that I thought could make any impreſſion upon his mind, to free himſelf from all his domeſtic uneaſineſſes. 1594.

Theſe affairs were but juſt over before the arrival of meſſieurs De Biron, Givry, Saint-Luc, Marivault, Parabere, Vignoles, Fouqueroles, and others whom the king had ſent to examine his works of the preceding day, particularly two mines which he had cauſed to be opened. Every one gave his opinion of them to ſhew his own ſkill: they could not agree, and a diſpute inſenſibly aroſe amongſt them: marechal Biron, vain of his great talents for war, by an aſſuming air, and a ſuperiority of accent which made him always maſter of the converſation, could with difficulty bear to hear any one declare himſelf of an opinion contrary to his.

* Notre-dame de l'Abſie, in Poitou, and the priory of St. Peter of Pontoiſe.

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1594. The king, perceiving that words grew high amongſt them, in order to oblige them to ſilence, told them he had received notice from three ſpies, who came one after the other from different places, that the duke of Maïenne and the count of Manſfield had reſolved, at all hazards, to throw a very conſiderable convoy of ammunition and proviſions into Laon, in order to avoid a battle; and that this convoy was to ſet out inſtantly upon its march, ſupported by a very powerful eſcort, with a deſign to ſurpriſe the guard, force themſelves a paſſage, and enter into the beſieged city. This afforded a new ſubject for conteſtation, which ended at laſt in Biron's favour, who procured the command of a ſtrong detachment, with which he intended to poſt himſelf in the foreſt between Laon and La-Fere, and to attack both the eſcort and the convoy. He compoſed the detachment himſelf, which conſiſted of twelve hundred French infantry, all choſen men, eight hundred Swiſs, three hundred light horſe, two hundred troopers, and one hundred gentlemen of the king's houſhold. I aſked the king's permiſſion to go along with this detachment, which he refuſed me ſeveral times, alledging, that there were many things which he wanted me to inform him of; but, upon my repeated importunities, he allowed me to go.

We began our march at ſix o'clock in the afternoon, and reached the foreſt at one in the morning, where we advanced cautiouſly to the extremity of the wood near La-Fere; here we lay in ambuſcade. Marechal Biron detained all the paſſengers we met on the great road, who he thought might carry intelligence of his deſign into La-Fere; and placed centinels on horſeback at the end of the wood, to bring him an exact information of whatever came out of the city. We waited with great impatience till four o'clock in the afternoon, before we heard any news; and then the centinels came to inform us, that the great road from La-Fere

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to Laon was covered with ſo long a file of ſoldiers, and ſuch a vaſt quantity of baggage of every kind, that they could imagine nothing elſe but that the whole army of the enemy was advancing. That inſtant I perceived ſeveral of the moſt reſolute amongſt us to look pale, and whiſper to each other, that it was neceſſary to make our retreat. This, many of us oppoſed; and the commander declaring himſelf for this laſt opinion, it was agreed upon by a plurality of voices, that ſome one of the troop ſhould be ſent to reconnoitre, and bring back an exact account of what he ſaw. Fouqueroles, whoſe valour and prudence was well known, was choſen, with two others, for this employment; and returning a little time afterwards, informed us, that this ſeemingly formidable line was compoſed of three hundred carts, laden with ammunition, eſcorted by four ſquadrons of one hundred horſe each, who marched before the convoy, followed by eight or nine hundred muſqueteers, an equal number of Spaniſh infantry brought up the rear. 1594.

This number not being equal to ours, it was agreed upon, with one voice, that we ſhould attack them; and we only differed upon the manner of doing it: I, with many others, were of opinion, that it would be better to let the convoy enter the foreſt, and afterwards fall upon them in the rear. Givry *, Montigny, and Marivault, who were at the head of the cavalry, were for the negative, and maintained ſo poſitively, that there was leſs danger in attacking them in the open field, that they drew marechal Biron into this opinion. At firſt this method ſucceeded; the cavalry of the enemy gave way as ſoon as they were attacked, though at the beginning they ſhewed great reſolution, and retired to the ſides of the waggons: but we ſoon

* Anne D'Anglure, baron of Givry. He was killed at Laon a few days after this encounter, and greatly lamented by Henry IV. Francis de la Grange, lord de Montigny: he is mentioned again. Claude de L'Iſle, ſieur de Marivault.

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1594. found whom we had to deal with; the enemy's infantry which were in front waited firmly for our troopers, whom Biron ſent to attack them, and fired upon them with ſuch excellent order as obliged them to give ground. Biron commanded them to return to the charge by the left flank, while he attacked the right, which was evidently the leaſt dangerous. The onſet was ſo terrible that the enemy's foot were forced to retire, and, like the other ſquadrons, take ſhelter in the midſt of the carts, from whence they ſtill continued to defend themſelves: in the mean time, the Spaniſh battalion advanced from the rear to the front, and formed itſelf in ſuch a manner, that it was ſupported on all ſides by the cavalry and the waggons, without loſing the aſſiſtance of the firſt battalion: they made ſo vigorous a defence, that all Biron's intreaties and menaces could not hinder our ſix hundred horſe from quitting the fight, extremely weakened. The Swiſs and French infantry, who took their place, found equal reſiſtance. The battle laſted a long time. Biron apprehending, that an action which paſſed ſo near La-Fere would give time for a conſiderable ſupply to be ſent to the convoy, if it was not very ſpeedily ended, for a laſt reſource, commanded the hundred gentlemen to diſmount, to add to their other arms, which conſiſted of a ſword and piſtol, a pike, of which we had brought a great quantity along with us; and to bring up to the charge all our foot, both French and Swiſs, which had not yet encountered the Spaniards. Meſſieurs de Guitry *, de Montigny, de Marivault, de Trigny, D'Arambure, de La-Curée, de Lopes, D'Heures, and

* This is not John de Chaumont de Guitry, who has been ſo often mentioned in the Hiſtory, and in theſe Memoirs; he died in the year 1592. See his panegyric in M. de Thou, book ciii. The perſon mentioned here was, according to Cayet, called ſo, becauſe he married the heireſs of this family. Chron. Novenn. b. iv. p. 23. But Cayet is miſtaken; John de Chaumont left ſeveral ſons, who bore arms in the king's ſervice.

others,

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others, advanced in this manner at the head of three hundred foot; and Biron, with an equal number, followed them. I was in the second battalion. They charged us with such fury that the pike and fusee became useless; we fought hand to hand, and even wrestled with each other. The Spaniards at length gave ground, and, after throwing away their arms *, fled for shelter to the woods and waggons. This last refuge was of no service to them; we pursued them there, and made a horrible carnage of them: no less than twelve hundred were left dead upon the place. We took but few prisoners. Those persons that were of any distinction in the cavalry had time to get back to La-Fere. We neither pursued them, nor the others who had taken shelter in the woods, lest we should be surprised and put into disorder by new troops sent from La-Fere to their assistance: on the contrary we only thought of rallying, and keeping upon our guard, during the time that was necessary to rest and refresh ourselves with some of those provisions of which we found great abundance in the convoy. In the night we marched back to the camp, and brought thither, without meeting with any obstacle, all the enemy's baggage, but so pillaged by the soldiers, and so carelessly looked after, notwithstanding the commander's strict orders concerning it, that above four hundred war or baggage horses were lamed. 1594.

Biron, with the same supercilious air which he had assumed to procure the command in this expedition, presented himself to his majesty at his return, to receive the praises due to his success. Having a subject so copious to discuss, one may easily imagine what a man, who knew not that on such occasions silence is merit, would say to enhance the greatness of his victory. Indeed his discourse seemed to

* La Curée, who was a good judge in these matters, attributes the Spaniards defeat to their custom of using too long swords, and waist-belts too short. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi.

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1594. inſinuate, that he had that moment fixed the crown upon the king's head. Experience has ſhewn that this haughtineſs which borders a little upon boaſting, of itſelf ſufficiently in the French taſte, commonly ſucceeds with a general who has Frenchmen to lead: with them to ſeem ſure of a victory, goes a great way towards gaining it. The king was not ignorant of this diſpoſition; and he had found very happy conſequences from it, on thoſe hazardous occaſions, when the ſoldiers fought only in the countenance and words of their leader, the idea they ought to have of the preſent danger. Hence a ſeeming confidence of ſucceſs became habitual to him, which was imitated by all the general officers; and, as it often happens, many of them, but particularly marechal Biron, carried that confidence ſo far as to become inſupportable to all the others, and even to the king himſelf, who was not on this occaſion the leſs indulgent.

The obliging reception which his majeſty gave to Biron, and thoſe that had followed him, created great jealouſy in the courtiers, who were not of the party, and completely turned Biron's head. However, he could not obtain the government of Laon, which was what he aimed at by exalting his laſt action, and arrogating all the glory of it to himſelf alone, as if the others had had no part in it. The king diſcovered his thoughts of it freely to me, and ſeemed on many accounts greatly diſcontented with this marechal. His majeſty told me that, after ſo many cauſes of complaint which Biron had given him, after his having dared even lately to threaten him with going over to his enemies, and the diſcoveries he had juſt made of the correſpondence he carried on with meſſieurs D'Epernon, and D'Auvergne, he could not reſolve to truſt him with the care of a place ſo near the Low Countries as Laon, which ought only to be given to a man *

* This government was given to Marivault.

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whoſe fidelity had been tried; but he feared, he 1594.
ſaid, that Biron would keep no meaſures after this refuſal, and would openly join the party againſt him, or what was ſtill more dangerous, continue near his perſon, while he ſecretly ſided with his enemies. Henry, who from this moment was perſuaded that he would one day have all this to fear from Biron, added, that he perceived this marechal had ſought my friendſhip for ſome time, doubtleſs with an intention to procure my concurrence to a marriage between his brother, and madamoiſelle De Saint-Geniès *, my niece, who was one of the greateſt fortunes in France; and he ordered me to take advantage of this new friendſhip, to penetrate into his deſigns.

The great convoy being defeated, the king, without any obſtacle, continued the ſiege of Laon, till he received notice that the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Mansfield, far from being diſheartened by this bad ſucceſs, talked of nothing leſs than coming to force the lines of the beſiegers, as ſoon as they had received ſome troops they were in expectation of. Biron treated this news with contempt; but his majeſty, who neglected nothing, was not eaſy about it till Givry, whom he had ſent to reconnoitre, eſcorted by three hundred horſe, with ſtrict orders not to return without a perfect knowledge of the ſituation and forces of the enemy, brought him, at the end of three days, certain intelligence that there was not a ſingle company of them on this ſide the Oiſe; and that the Spaniards were more inclined to return to Flanders than to Laon. The king, relying upon the juſtneſs of this report, that very evening made a party to go and dine the next day at St. Lambert, a houſe dependent upon the domain of Navarre, and ſituated in the midſt of the foreſt, where he remembred

* Daughter of Elias de Gontault, lord De Badefou, and governor of Bearn, viceroy of Navarre, and of Jacqueline de Bethune, monſieur de Roſny's ſiſter.

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1594. to have often gone to eat fruit, milk, and new cheese, during the time that in his youth he had resided in the castle of Marle; and he still promised himself great pleasure in seeing it again.

About thirty of us attended him to St. Lambert, where, as he had passed part of the preceding night in visiting as usual the trenches, batteries, and mines, he fell asleep as soon as he had dined: his good constitution, joined to a habit of fatigue, had accustomed him to sleep in any place, and when he pleased, and to wake at any hour. The weather being then extremely hot, eight or ten of us went into the thickest part of the forest *, not far from the great road leading from La-Fere to Laon. We had not gone farther than twelve or fifteen hundred paces, when a noise which came from that side near La-Fere drew all our attention; it seemed to be a confused mixture of human voices, smacking of whips, neighing of horses, and a noise like the distant sound of trumpets and drums. That we might hear more plainly, we came forwards to the road, from whence we saw distinctly, eight hundred paces before us, a column of infantry, which appeared to us to be foreigners, marching in good order, and without any noise: that which we had heard proceeded from the servants and vagabonds who followed, and those that conducted a considerable convoy of artillery which guarded it. Extending our view as far as it was possible, so great a number of troops appeared to us to file off after these waggons, that we did not doubt but the enemy's whole army was there.

We returned immediately, and found the king awake, shaking a plum-tree, of whose fruit he seemed very fond. "Faith, sir, said we, some "men that have passed just now, will prepare "other plums for you not quite so easy of di-"gestion." We explained ourselves in few words; and the king the more readily believed us, having,

* The forest of Folambray.

as

as he told us, heard a noiſe during the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, which (not being able to imagine that Givry could have acquitted himſelf ſo ill of his commiſſion) he thought had proceeded from his own camp. His majeſty ordered twelve of us, who were ready at hand, to go inſtantly to the different quarters of the cavalry (a liſt of which he always carried in his pocket) to ſpread the alarm there, and bring them all with the utmoſt expedition to his quarter, while at the ſame time others were ſent to the infantry to form them into battalions, and poſt them between the ſame quarter and the trenches. He gave theſe orders as he was mounting his horſe, and although he rode with great ſwiftneſs, he continued giving them to all he met, with the ſame juſtneſs and extent of thought as if he had been long before prepared for a battle. Such was this prince's quickneſs of apprehenſion, and admirable preſence of mind, that nothing eſcaped him; whereas any other, in the ſame ſituation, inſtead of forming a well regulated plan, would have been hardly able to have fixed upon a tolerable expedient. The enemies upon their arrival found every one prepared for them; to which perhaps the whole army owed its preſervation: for it muſt be confeſſed that, if the enemies cavalry, which at the ſame inſtant appeared in the front of the camp, where they formed themſelves into ſquadrons with great expedition, had only been able to have thrown the ſoldiers into a conſternation, which, the king and part of the officers being abſent, muſt infallibly have happened by an effect of the firſt ſurpriſe; it would have been eaſy for them, amidſt that ſudden confuſion, to have defeated great part of the army, and probably fear might have delivered up the reſt into their power. 1594.

This example is alone ſufficient to prove of what utility it is for a general of an army, not only to poſſeſs that quality of the mind which takes in all poſſible contingencies, but to be well acquainted with

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1594. with the names, abilities, good and bad qualities of all the officers, as well as the different bodies which compoſe his army, and in his turn to be known by it for him of all the general officers, whoſe advice (the quality of leader apart) they would chuſe in any difficult conjuncture to follow, as the wiſeſt and beſt; to give that advice with firmneſs, but without the oſtentation which ſeems to ariſe from the certainty of having found out the beſt; to inſpire them with a fondneſs for their occupation; to render their diſcipline pleaſing, by never oppreſſing them with orders, but at the ſame time to accuſtom them never to expect that thoſe already eſtabliſhed will on any occaſion whatever be diſpenſed with or diminiſhed; in a word, to poſſeſs the art of making himſelf be at all times readily obeyed by them, without inſpiring that timidity which keeps them ſilent, when by a ſeaſonable hint they might aſſiſt the thoughts of their leader; an inconvenience which has often been the ruin of many armies, and their commanders.

Notwithſtanding the expedition the king uſed on this occaſion, if the enemy's general had taken advantage of the opportunity which chance had given him, it is probable we might have ſuffered a conſiderable ſhock; but knowing the prince he had to deal with, he durſt not ſuffer the van of his army to appear, till the whole was come out of the foreſt, that one part might be deprived of the aſſiſtance of the other, in caſe the king ſhould be informed of his march, and meet him with his entire army. It happened alſo, that the march of this army was protracted by the breaking of a carriage, upon which a piece of ordnance was placed, which embarraſſed them greatly. The waggons ſplit in pieces when the convoy was defeated, the luggage of which, with the bodies of men and horſes, overſpread the road, cauſed a ſecond embarraſſment ſtill greater: and laſtly, the perſon whom the duke of Maïenne had ſent to reconnoitre

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noitre a place proper for pitching his camp, did not return ſo ſpeedily as he might have done. 1594.

The king took advantage of all theſe delays. He drew out from the trenches as many men as were ſufficient to cover them, without leaving too few within, and ranged the reſt of his army in order of battle before, when the enemies, who no longer hoped to ſurpriſe him, gave him time. That day was employed on each ſide in chuſing the moſt advantageous poſts for a battle. It was not however the intention of the two generals of the enemy to engage; they dreaded the king's aſcendant, and our cavalry which was almoſt all compoſed of gentlemen. Their whole deſign by this motion was to oblige the king to raiſe the ſiege of Laon by coming to meet them, and afterwards to evade a battle, or throw, at leaſt, in the confuſion cauſed by their arrival, three thouſand foot, and three hundred troopers into the place; but as we did not know their intention till afterwards, that we were informed of it by ſome priſoners whom we took, it was not doubted but that there would be a general action the next day; our two camps being ſo near that we heard diſtinctly the ſound of their trumpets, and the ſhouts of their ſoldiers.

In the midſt of the ground that ſeparated us from the enemies, there was one ſingle hill almoſt round, which, with regard to the beſieged city, might be of great importance, if the enemy ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of it. The king, who had ſent me to reconnoitre it, gave me two pieces of cannon, to ſupport a regiment that were by his order to poſt and fortify themſelves there. I cauſed a hut to be erected for myſelf, and when the king came to viſit this poſt, he found every thing in good order. The next day the enemy making a ſhew of greater reſolution than the evening before, began a ſkirmiſh with all their ſmall ſhot, and endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of a little wood which lay between the two camps. Above fifty thouſand ſmall

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1594. small arms were fired, but with so little effect that Parabere, who came to my hut to sup with me, assured me that they had not twenty men slain, nor more than twice that number wounded.

Night coming on during this tumult; and the two generals of the enemy's army, who thought of nothing less than engaging farther, took advantage of it to retreat, without being discovered, to La-Fere. The king suffered them to fly, contenting himself with the disgrace they had drawn upon themselves by this ridiculous attempt.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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